

THE
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ART. 1.—*A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the Methodist Episcopal Church: principally from the Collection of the Rev. John Wesley, A. M., &c., &c.*

THERE are, comparatively, few faultless hymns. The reason is obvious. In the first place, although a vast amount of what is called poetry has been written, and almost everybody has perpetrated more or less rhyme, the world has produced *few poets*. As the *halt* and the *maimed* were unfit for sacrifice, so the medium through which praise is offered to the Most High should be *without blemish*. Common-place thoughts, feeble expressions, unmeaning expletives, cost nothing. When tortured, for the service of the sanctuary, into limping doggerel, and slipshod jingling, they become an—abomination.

Again: something more than poetry is needed. It is not enough that he who versifies for the church militant has sipped from the waters of Helicon, or plumed his wings on Mount Parnassus. He must be familiar with Calvary, and have been baptized with fire from Heaven's own altar. In a word, none but he who is both a poet and a Christian *can* write a hymn worthy to be used in that service which is common to the worshipers in the upper and the lower sanctuary.

“*They* sing the Lamb in *hymns* above,
And *we* in *hymns* below.”

The *subject* of a hymn, we remark in the next place, should be evangelical. There are many passages of the Old Testament Scriptures that, having been versified, may subserve a useful purpose, but are totally unfit for the public worship of a Christian congregation. Even the Psalms of David, beautiful and appropriate as many of them are, contain sentiments that do not seem to be in unison with the great law of love as enforced and exemplified by

our blessed Redeemer. Take, for instance, from the Protestant Episcopal version, Psalm lxix, 22 :—

“ Their tables, therefore, to their health
Shall prove a snare, a trap their wealth ;
Perpetual darkness seize their eyes !
And sudden blasts their hopes surprise.
On them thou shalt thy fury pour
Till thy fierce wrath their race devour,
And make their house a dismal cell,
Where none will e’er vouchsafe to dwell !”

Or the following, from Watts, Psalm vii, 8 :—

“ For me their malice digg’d a pit,
But there themselves are cast ;
My God makes all their mischief light
On their own heads at last.
That cruel, persecuting race,
Must feel his dreadful sword ;
Awake, my soul, and praise the grace
And justice of the Lord.”

And from the same author, Psalm xxxv, 1 :—

“ Now plead my cause, almighty God,
With all the sons of strife,
And fight against the men of blood
Who fight against my life.
Draw out thy spear, and stop their way,
Lift thine avenging rod ;
But to my soul in mercy say,
‘ I am thy Saviour God.’
They plant their snares to catch my feet,
And nets of mischief spread ;
Plunge the destroyers in the pit
That their own hands have made,” &c.

We have not selected these specimens for the purpose of finding fault with the versification ; nor of calling in question the inspiration under which they were originally written ; but to illustrate our meaning of the word *evangelical*, when applied to poetry prepared for the use of a Christian congregation. We say such sentiments are unsuited to the dispensation under which it is our happiness to live ; and although the leading denominations* of our country

* The Protestant Episcopal Church, by a standing ordinance, decrees that “a certain portion or portions of the Psalms of David in metre *shall* be sung” whenever God is praised in their congregations. Their version is far inferior to that of Watts.

persist in putting this language into the lips of the mixed multitudes who compose their congregations, we contend that such was never the design of the great Head of the church. David was a prophet and a poet. Many of his sentiments are truly evangelical, and form the basis of some of the best hymns in the language; but he lived in a day of comparative darkness; and we have the warrant of the Saviour for saying that he who is least in the kingdom of heaven—that is, under the gospel dispensation—is greater than he. Dr. Watts himself saw the impropriety to which we allude;* and hence omitted to versify many of the Psalms: but with strange pertinacity, the Presbyterian Church in this country requested of Dr. Dwight “to supply the deficiency,” as they termed it, by whom it was accordingly done, and the entire collection, thus increased, was officially approved by that body, in the beginning of the present century.

In the next place, hymns should be *sound in sentiment*. We were going to say—orthodox; but there is no hope that the meaning of that word will be agreed upon until we sing the new song in heaven. Thus, with our Calvinistic brethren the following lines of Dr. Watts’s one hundred and thirty-eighth Psalm are orthodox:—

“Grace will complete what grace begins,
To save from sorrows or from sins:
The work that wisdom undertakes
Eternal mercy ne’er forsakes.”

Of course *we* should question the propriety of putting such language into the lips of a known backslider; especially as verse makes a deep and often ineffaceable impression. Nor should we be willing to take the responsibility of imprinting upon the heart even of him

* The doctor, in the preface to his Hymns and Spiritual Songs, under date of March 3, 1720, makes the following remarks with reference to this subject:

“When we are just entering into an evangelic frame, by some of the glories of the gospel presented in the brightest figures of Judaism, the very next line, perhaps, hath something in it so extremely *Jewish* and cloudy, that it darkens our sight of God the Saviour. Thus, by keeping too close to David in the house of God, the veil of Moses is thrown over our hearts. Some sentences of the Psalmist may compose our spirits to seriousness, and allure us to a sweet retirement within ourselves, but we meet with a following line which so peculiarly belongs but to one action or hour of the life of David or of Asaph, that breaks off our song in the midst; our consciences are affrighted lest we should speak a falsehood unto God.—Far be it from my thoughts to lay aside the book of Psalms in public worship; but it must be acknowledged still, that *there are a thousand lines in it which were not made for a church in our days to assume as its own.*”

who most assuredly standeth these lines by Toplady, which we find in the twentieth edition of Rippon's selection :—

“ Our Saviour and Friend
His love shall extend,
It knew no beginning and never shall end :
Whom once he receives,
His Spirit ne'er leaves,
Nor ever repents of the grace that he gives.”

Almost involuntarily, when reading such lines, or hearing them sung, we ejaculate the (obsolete ?) prayer of the Psalmist :—“ Take not thy Holy Spirit from me.” Nor does the sentiment of the following please us any better than the poetry :—

“ Behold the potter and the clay,
He forms his vessels as he please (s) :
Such is our God, and such are we,
The subjects of his high decrees (s).
May not the sovereign Lord on high
Dispense his favors as he will,
Choose some to life, while others die,
And yet be just and gracious still ?”—Watts.

As an antidote to similar strains, in the days when controversy waxed hot, the caustic muse of Charles Wesley sung, carrying out the doctrine to its legitimate results, in verses that we think have never been republished in this country :—

“ They're d——d for falling short
Of what they could not do ;
For not believing the report
Of that which was not true.”

And again, to suit the modification which the doctrine had undergone :—

“ He did not do the deed,
Some have more mildly raved ;
He did not d——n them, but decreed
They never should be saved.”

It is vain therefore to hope for uniformity in the sentiments clothed with verse for the use of the various Christian denominations, while such a difference exists in their theological tenets. What we contend for is, that every hymn should not only in subject be evangelical ; but that every line should be, when tested by the authorized criterion—sound in sentiment. It is exceedingly unhappy when aught is found in the collection of hymns used by any deno-

mination that has even the semblance of being at variance with the standards of their faith. Nor should the poet be allowed too much latitude in the language used by him. It is not so indispensable that his verse sparkle, as that it be kept pure. Poetry, sung in public congregations, sinks into the soul; and sentiments thus imbibed are regarded by multitudes with reverence scarce inferior to that which belongs only to holy writ. Even truth itself may be so presented as to make a false impression; and while we do not question the literal correctness of the sentiment in the following lines, for instance, we fear that sinners may have been lost by the apparent invitation held out to procrastinate:—

“Life is the time to serve the Lord,
The time t’ insure the great reward;
And while the lamp holds out to burn,
The vilest sinner may return.”—Watts.

Unity is another essential to a perfect hymn. A string of unconnected verses, though the sentiments be unobjectionable and the rhyme faultless, is not a hymn. This is the prevailing characteristic of many specimens of sacred poetry. They are *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*; they have, in reality, neither beginning, middle, nor end. You may drop a verse here or there; you may make the last first, and the first last; transpose them in any way, and there is no harm done. Take, as an illustration, that expansion of the words of the Psalmist:—“Whom have I in heaven but thee, and there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee,” which has a place in our collection as hymn 109. We select this, not by any means because it is the worst we have met with, but because it is from the pen of an eminent poet, and because the reader may refer to it without our occupying space by transcribing it. The poetry is fully equal to the author’s average; and yet, if perhaps we except the first verse, it might be transposed in any way imaginable. The remaining seven verses might, either of them, be omitted; or thrown altogether, and their stations decided by lot. Indeed, the probability is, that the hymn would be improved by such a process. The chances, at any rate, would be against the “lame and impotent conclusion” as it now stands in the miserably-prosaic line:—

“O Jesus, raise me higher!”

Obsolete and uncommon words should be avoided in poetry designed for the public worship of God. An instance of the former we have in hymn 39 of our collection:—

"Most *pitiful* Spirit of grace ;"

and of the latter, in hymn 655 :—

"O Source of uncreated heat,
The Father's promised *paraclete*."

The word *pitiful*, as used by Wesley in the former quotation, is in strict accordance with its literal meaning—full of pity ; and is withal Scriptural in that sense ; but it is more generally used at the present day, improperly we know, but still generally, as equivalent to pitiable, mean, despicable. Of the meaning of the word *paraclete*, we suppose nine-tenths of an ordinary congregation would be profoundly ignorant.

Once more : a hymn should not be too long. Six verses of the short, or common metre, are as many as can, on ordinary occasions, be sung profitably. In this respect many in our collection might have been improved by judicious omissions. Space would have been thereby gained for the admission of others, and a greater variety obtained, without increasing the size of the book.

The great majority of the hymns in our collection are from the pen of Charles Wesley ; and the adjective *Wesleyan*, when applied to sacred poetry, conveys an idea no less distinct than when it is used to designate peculiarities of religious doctrine. The lyrics of the Methodist poet are, like the prose of his elder brother—*sui generis* ; and as the sermons of the one will ever remain standards of our faith, so the verse of the other will always constitute the peculiar medium through which, as a people, we offer praise to the Most High. Our collection is not confined, however, to the productions of Wesley. We have many of the best of the hymns written by Dr. Watts ; a few from Addison, Cowper, Doddridge, Steele, Cennick, and others. They were first selected, arranged, and published by Bishops Coke and Asbury, with such assistance as they saw proper to employ. A second part was prepared by Daniel Hitt, under the supervision of Bishop Asbury, and presented to the General Conference of 1808 ; by which body it was approved and ordered to be printed.* In the year 1819, the agents, with the assistance of the Book Committee, revised the entire collection, and made a number of alterations, omitting about fifty hymns, and blending the two parts into one. The result of their labors was presented to the General Conference of 1820. The selection thus

* The original title was, "The Methodist Pocket Hymn-Book, revised and improved, designed as a constant Companion for the Pious of all Denominations, collected from various Authors."

prepared has continued, without alteration, until the present day ; save that the lamented Emory, while at the head of the Book Concern, made many verbal amendments,* and restored the hymn,—“ Am I a soldier of the cross,”—which, by some means, had been left out of its proper place. In 1836 was added the “ Supplement,” in accordance with the recommendation of the General Conference of 1832.

By this supreme judicatory of our church, whose quadrennial meeting will be held in the month of May next, the propriety of revising our present Hymn-Book will probably be discussed. Two points connected with such discussion may be taken for granted. The first is, that a greater variety in the hymns suitable for public worship is desirable ;† and the second, that the book is already sufficiently bulky. It will be a question then for the united wisdom of the church to decide, whether our present collection could not be materially improved without increasing its apparent dimensions ? Whether there are not a number of hymns which are seldom if ever used ; some that are in fact mere duplicates of others ;‡ some that are below mediocrity in their versification ; and a few that are questionable in their theology ? Might not all such be omitted in future editions, and their places be supplied by others ? Might not a great many be abbreviated, and thus rather improved than injured ? These are questions that, we think, can be answered only in the affirmative ; and if so, a greatly-improved collection could be made by selecting from sources that were inaccessible, and that did not exist, when our present Hymn-Book was prepared. This could be done too without materially affecting the value of the copies now in the hands of our people, which would not be the case were an entirely new selection to be made.

With these views, we have given our collection a patient revision. In the remarks which follow, while it will be our aim to settle the question of authorship of each individual hymn, so far as our

* Among his amendments, we may mention the addition of the final s to the word *Jesu*, in a great number of places. It was a peculiarity of Charles Wesley to use the words indifferently ; and the Wesleyan collection, to this day, we believe, (we have no edition later than 1831,) retains these instances of bad taste and altogether unnecessary corruption of language. What possible advantage can there be in clipping off the s, and reading “ *Jesu*, lover of my soul ? ”

† “ Too great a variety of evangelical hymns for public worship,” says an eminent divine, “ is a thing scarcely conceivable.”

‡ Compare hymn 529 with hymn 695 ; especially verses 2, 3, 4, of the latter, with verses 3, 4, 6, of the former. There is no other instance, in the recent editions, quite so bad.

researches have enabled us to do so ; and to intersperse information that may be interesting to the general reader ; we wish what we may say on the subject of omitting and superseding hymns now in our collection, to be considered merely as hints to those who may hereafter have it in charge, from the constituted authorities of the church, to prepare for our use a revised Hymn-Book. That this will be done at no very distant date we have no doubt. Our own impression is, that it ought to be done now. Within the last few years, the different leading denominations in our country have all published new and enlarged collections of hymns. They have borrowed freely from all sources ; and, although as a *volume of poetry* we have seen none to compare with our own, yet we are unwilling that a just complaint should be heard from any quarter, that the collection used by the largest body of Christians in the Union is deficient in variety, or in adaptedness to every occasion.

It will be understood that those hymns which we pass without comment, and to which we do not assign another authorship, are believed to be Charles Wesley's. We deem it equally due to *them*, and to his fair fame—our most precious legacy—that he be not chargeable with the productions of others.

Hymn 1. We have frequently heard objections to the line in the second part of this hymn :—

“ With me, *your chief*, ye then shall know.”

We would not have it altered. *He* being dead, yet speaketh ; and we love to bring him thus near, and to share with him in the joy arising from the knowledge of sins forgiven.

Hymn 2. This hymn, which is a great favorite in many parts of the United States, was written by *Hart*. It has undergone a few alterations, which are, on the whole, improvements. The first line was, originally,—

“ Come, ye sinners, poor and *wretched* ;”

and the fourth,—

“ Full of pity *join'd with power*.”

The second line of the fourth stanza was, in the original, “ *Lost and ruin'd*,” instead of “ *Bruised and mangled by the fall*.” A second part, added by *Fountain*, a Baptist missionary, is found in some collections. His first stanza shows in a strong light the difference between the poet and the hymn-maker. He says,—

“ Sinners, you are now address-ed
In the name of Christ our Lord ;

He hath sent a message to you—
 Pay attention to his word ;
 He hath sent it,
 Pay attention to his word."

Hymn 3. From this hymn, those who prepared our collection struck out, with propriety, two verses, which are the fourth and fifth in the Wesleyan collection. We would omit our fifth verse, for reasons which will occur to the reader ; and verse 7, in which we have the unpoetical word—*acceptable*. The hymn will then contain five verses, ending with what is now the sixth.

Hymn 4. The fourth double stanza may be omitted with propriety.

Hymn 5. In the fifth verse Wesley wrote,—

"The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost
Is ready," &c.

Our book says *are* ready. We prefer the original, implying, as it does, unity in the Godhead. The entire second part, five verses, might be omitted.

Hymn 6. This has been credited to *Toplady* ; we believe erroneously. From his hand it received several alterations, and the addition of the following verse :—

"Ye bankrupt debtors, know
 The sovereign grace of Heaven ;
 Though sums immense ye owe,
 A free discharge is given :
 The year of jubilee," &c.

His alterations are no improvements, and certainly constitute no claim to the authorship of the hymn.

Hymns 7, 8, might both, perhaps, be superseded by others.

Hymn 11. We know not by whom these lines were written.

Hymn 12. The last five verses might, with propriety, be omitted.

Hymn 13. This is a paraphrase of Isaiah lv, 1, &c., by *Dr. Watts*. Three verses have been, with evident propriety, omitted in our selection.

Hymn 14. We would omit the third stanza of part first, and let the hymn end with the first stanza of part second.

Hymn 17. An evident improvement, so far at least as unity of sentiment is regarded, would be made in this hymn by omitting the latter half of the third stanza, and inserting in its place the last four lines of the fourth ; with which the hymn may properly end.

Hymn 19 was written by *Watts*. It is a part of his version

of the fifty-first Psalm. The alterations generally were made with taste. In the first verse the doctor says,—

“Lord, *I* am vile,” &c.;

and

“Corrupts *the* race,” &c.

In the third,—

“O make me wise betimes to *spy*.”

And in the last,—

“And make my broken *bones* rejoice.”

Hymn 20. *Fawcett*, the author of this hymn, wrote, (verse 3,)—

“Your way is dark and leads to *hell* ;”

and

“Can you in endless torments *dwell*.”

We have also, for no good reason, substituted the word *naked* for “crooked” in the fourth verse.

Hymn 21. Verses 1, 2, are good poetry and expressive ; as however they have no very intimate connection with the rest of the hymn, and it might be wanted for other than an *evening* sacrifice, we should prefer to omit them, and to commence with what is now verse 3 :—

“Is here a soul that knows thee not ?”

Hymn 22. The sentiment in verse 6 is but a repetition of that in verse 4, and might be spared without injury to the hymn.

Hymn 24. An error, which is not in the Wesleyan collection, runs through all the American editions that we have seen. It is the superfluous word *is* in the fifth line of the third stanza. The entire hymn is beautiful. Perhaps some of the expressions in the last stanza are too strong for ordinary occasions, especially the lines,—

“Let it not my Lord displease
That I would die to be thy guest.”

He is a bold man who will undertake to alter it ; and the stanza must remain as it is or be omitted entirely.

Hymn 25. In verse 6 we have again the unpoetical word—acceptable. It has a very harsh sound in many tunes, especially when the first syllable is dwelt upon :—“Make this the *ax*.” Some poet may suggest an alteration. If not, read,—

“Make this to me the joyful hour.”

Hymn 26. In this hymn there is a remarkable want of that prime

characteristic—unity. The sentiments are in general good, although the connection between some of the verses is not very apparent ; as for instance in verse 8 :—

“With labor faint thou wilt not fail,
Or wearied, give the sinner o’er,
Till in this earth thy judgments dwell,
And, born of God, I sin no more.”

Hymn 27. This is *Watts’s*, with alterations, and the omission of one verse.

Hymns 28, 29. From each of these, one stanza (the third) might be omitted without material injury.

Hymn 30. Two stanzas of this beautiful hymn, as found in the Wesleyan collection, have been omitted in our book. It is not necessary to add them now ; and although the hymn as it stands is too long to be sung at once, we cannot recommend any further omission. It may very conveniently be divided at the end of the third stanza.

Hymn 31. For other reasons than the length of the hymn, we should advocate the omission of the third and fourth stanzas.

Hymn 32. We dislike the expression in verse 5,—

“That dear disfigured face ;”

and the prayer in verse 6,—

“Wrap me in thy crimson vest.”

Were we to omit verses 5, 6, 7, and substitute the word *might* for “I,” in verse 8, it would please us better. It would then read,—

“Didst thou not in our flesh appear,
And live, and die below,
That I might now perceive thee near,
And my Redeemer know—
Might view the Lamb in his own light,
Whom angels dimly see ;
And gaze, transported at the sight,
To all eternity !”

Hymn 33. This hymn would not be materially injured by the omission of the fourth and fifth stanzas.

Hymn 35. We know not who *first* affixed the name of *Cowper* to this beautiful poem ; nor whether it was designed as a compliment to him, or to Charles Wesley, its undoubted author. It seems to be a settled point that *Cowper* is to have the credit of it hereafter, as each succeeding compiler seems to be struck with its beauty, and follows in the footsteps of his predecessors.

Hymn 36. The last stanza is not found in the Wesleyan collection. It is quite equal to the rest.

Hymn 39. In the fourth line of the first stanza our collection has substituted "in" for *and*. Wesley has it,—

"And bring me assurance *and* rest."

In the last line of the same stanza the substitution of *thy* for "the" is unhappy. Wesley wrote,—

"And sprinkle his heart with *the* blood."

The address is to the Holy Spirit; inattention to which fact has perhaps caused the alteration. We should incline to the omission of the fourth and fifth stanzas.

Hymn 41. Two errors, perhaps in the first instance typographical, have crept into this beautiful hymn. In the sixth line of the first stanza we have it,—

"A covert from *this* tempest be,"

instead of

"A covert from *the* tempest," &c.

In the fourth stanza, at the end of line 6, Wesley placed a semicolon; in ours there is a comma, which very materially alters the sense. Perhaps the line,

"I shall hang upon my God,"

might be softened. Otherwise the hymn is faultless.

Hymn 43. The third stanza might be omitted.

Hymns 44, 45. Great liberty has been taken with these hymns of *Dr. Watts*. Much as we dislike alterations not absolutely necessary in the poetry of one so eminent as the doctor, and especially of one belonging to another communion; in the instances before us, perhaps it were best to leave them as they are in our book. They have become familiar to our people, and a restoration would seem strange. If the reader will compare the last verse of hymn 45 with the following, he will incline to the opinion that the alteration in this case was no improvement:—

"Then shall our active spirits move;
Upward our souls shall rise;
With hands of faith, and wings of love,
We'll fly and take the prize."

Hymn 47. The second and third stanzas might be omitted.

Hymn 49. This is by an unknown author. The poetry is of very humble pretensions.

Hymns 50, 51. These, containing each eight verses, long measure, may be divided into two equal parts. The fiftieth at the end of verse 4, and the second part to commence :—

“*Jesus, a word, a look from thee,*” &c.

The fifty-first in a similar manner, ending with verse 4, and the second part commencing :—

“*Though eighteen hundred years are past
Since Christ did in the flesh appear,
His tender mercies,*” &c.

Hymn 56. The entire eight verses of this hymn might be omitted, and their place occupied by others better adapted to public worship.

Hymn 57. The second, third, fourth, and fifth stanzas might be omitted.

Hymn 58. Omit the fourth verse.

Hymn 63. This is a beautiful poem. It is divided into two parts, each containing ten verses, and both, consequently, too long to be sung in public worship. It might be divided into four; the first to end with the fourth verse, and the fourth to begin with verse 7 of part second.

Hymn 64. Verse 6 of this hymn might be omitted. There is something to our ear unpleasant in the line,—

“*My God through Jesus pacified.*”

Wesley has it,—

“*My God in Jesus pacified,*”

which is better; but the hymn ends very well without the verse.

Hymn 66 would be improved by the omission of verse 3.

Hymn 67. Verse 6 of part first seems to be needed, if by some means it might be converted into poetry, which it is not.

Hymn 68 is long, but in too lofty a strain for the hand of criticism. It must stand as it is.

Hymn 69. Verse 2 of part first is objectionable, and very few, we suppose, can sing it, or the latter lines of verse 5, part second, with the spirit and the understanding. Perhaps the space occupied by the entire hymn might be filled, if not with better poetry, with sentiments better adapted to a public congregation.

Hymn 71. Verses 4, 6, 7, might be omitted.

Hymn 72. This is the latter part of the two hundred and ninetyeth of the Wesleyan collection. The line,

“*My God, my Saviour, and my spouse,*”

is objectionable, and not knowing how to mend it we would omit the entire hymn.

Hymn 74. This is one of Charles Wesley's spirited translations from the *German*. Others from the same source will be noted as they occur.

Hymn 75 is by *Addison*.

Hymn 76. This hymn, written by *Dr. Doddridge*, has undergone numerous alterations. The first verse as written by the author is:—

“ *Lord shed a beam of heavenly day
To melt this stubborn stone away ;
Now thaw, with rays of love divine,
This heart—this frozen heart of mine.*”

Instead of the vapid iteration of the word “something,” as we have it, in the fifth verse, the author says,—

“ But ONE can yet perform the deed ;
That *One* in all his grace I need,” &c.

Hymn 78. The second line of verse first is a strong hyperbole ; and the entire hymn, being very similar to the one immediately preceding, might well be spared.

Hymn 80. The first part of this hymn might end with the third stanza ; the fourth and fifth are unequal. The second part is good, and there is nothing in the whole range of sacred poetry more striking than the closing stanza.

Hymn 81. Verses 5 and 6 may be omitted.

Hymn 82 may be divided into two equal parts.

Hymn 83. Stanzas 4 and 5 may be spared.

Hymn 84. The concluding stanza is not in the Wesleyan collection, and may be omitted without injury.

Hymn 85. The second and fourth stanzas may be omitted.

Hymn 86. This hymn is not in the Wesleyan collection. We know not the author, nor exactly what to do with it. The first part appears to be a favorite with many of our people—perhaps on account of the metre. Its theology does not quadrate exactly with the doctrines of Methodism. The second part, which seems to be less admired, we should vote for striking out also. It is beneath criticism.

Hymn 87 would not be materially injured by omitting stanza 4.

Hymn 88. We know not the author of this hymn. Perhaps the line,

“ Butter and honey did I eat,”

might be altered for the better ; and the last line of verse 6 would be improved by substituting the word *how* for *now*.

Hymn 89 is *Cowper's*, with a few slight alterations that are of little consequence.

Hymn 90 is a part of *Dr. Watts's* nervous version of the fifty-first Psalm.

Hymn 92. Intermediate verses, amounting to one half of this hymn, as found in the Wesleyan collection, have been judiciously omitted.

Hymn 93. The prosaic line in verse 4,

"Fury is not in thee,"

mars the beauty of the hymn. Perhaps no great injury would be done by leaving out the second and fourth stanzas.

Hymn 94. Verses 2, 5, 6, might be omitted.

Hymns 95 to 100 inclusive are unobjectionable. In 99 occurs an instance, of which there are several in Wesley's poetry, where the word *Spirit* is crowded into one syllable. It is unhappy. The line,

"And done thy loving Spirit despite,"

might be altered to

"And to thy Spirit done despite."

The word *despite* in this connection is frequent in Wesley's poetry. It is Scriptural.

Hymn 101. The line in the third stanza,

"It is not my desire, but thine,"

is susceptible of an emendation. We would read,—

"Not only my desire, but thine."

Hymn 102. The expression,

"Ah! canst thou find it in thy heart,"

is perhaps too familiar. The stanza might be omitted.

Hymn 103. The third stanza is harsh, and if (with the seventh) it were omitted the hymn would be long enough.

Hymn 104, with the exception of the first stanza, is below Wesley's general average. The word *displacence* is not English, and to emphasize it on the first syllable, as is here requisite, is uncouth. The line,

"A keener appetite for thee,"

is hardly proper to put into the lips of a mixed congregation. The entire hymn might be spared, or materially modified.

Hymn 105. Omit the fourth stanza.

Hymn 107 is in Wesley's favorite style. We cannot spare any

part of it. Two little alterations seem to have been made without any kind of necessity. In the second stanza Wesley has it,—

“Thy *grace* is always nigh.”

In ours, “thy *blood*.” In the fourth stanza, the word “*buy*” has been substituted for the word *gain*, with no advantage to the sentiment or the poetry.

Hymn 108. In this hymn, two stanzas, which are the third and fourth in the Wesleyan collection, have been with propriety omitted in our book. The hymn is faultless with the exception of the last line of the first stanza. We can never be reconciled to reducing the third person of the Trinity to one syllable—Spirt for Spirit.

Hymn 109 is by *Dr. Watts*. The only alteration that has been made is the substitution of the interjection “O” for the adjective *dear*, in the last line. To this the doctor himself would not, probably, have objected.

Hymn 110. This would end quite as well at the sixth verse. The seventh and eighth are unequal, and appear rather out of place.

Hymn 111. Verses 6 and 7 may be spared.

Hymn 113 is in a metre of which we have perhaps too many. The phrase, “woman’s seed,” is frequent, but objectionable when used as in the first stanza.

Hymn 114. Perhaps the substitution of the word *and* for “*love*,” in the third line of the second stanza, would be an improvement.

Hymn 115. This is *Watts’s* version of the sixty-third Psalm. It is in his happiest vein. Three verses have been omitted; and several alterations have been made, which are on the whole, perhaps, improvements. *Watts* wrote,—

“*My* life itself, without thy love,
No taste or pleasure could afford;
’Twould but a tiresome burden prove,
If I were banish’d from the Lord.”

The reader may compare it with the fourth verse in our book.

Hymn 117, with our consent, would be omitted.

Hymn 121. We do not find this in the Wesleyan collection. The line,

“With thy *sap* my spirit feed,”

appears to strain the metaphor. The sentiment in the latter part of the third verse we have, repeatedly, in other hymns.

Hymn 122. This is by *Hammond*.

Hymn 123. The five concluding verses of this hymn are probably but seldom used in public congregations. It might end very properly with verse 6.

Hymn 124. This is by an unknown author. The sentiments are common-place.

Hymns 126, 127. These two are one (one hundred and sixty-third) in the Wesleyan collection, with the exception of the fourth verse of the one hundred and twenty-sixth, which appears to have been added in this country.

Hymn 128. This is evidently Charles Wesley's, but is not in the Wesleyan Hymn-Book. As it contains eight verses, perhaps the second and third might be omitted.

Hymn 129. This is by *Dr. Watts*. It is so well known among our people that it would be unwise to restore it to its original state, nor indeed is it necessary.

Hymn 131. In the third verse the Wesleyan collection reads :—

*"All my wants thou wouldst relieve
In this th' accepted hour."*

The third line of verse 5 commences with "*for*" instead of "*and*."
The sixth is better than ours :—

*"How would my fainting soul rejoice
Could I but see thy face:
Now let me hear thy quickening voice,
And taste thy pardoning grace!"*

Hymn 132. These two verses were written by the *founder of Methodism*. It were sacrilege to touch them.

Hymn 134. This is a beautiful poetic prayer. Perhaps we shall be deemed fastidious in our objection to the last word of the last verse, when applied to Him whose name is love; especially as we have no substitute to offer.

Hymn 137. We have not met with this in any other collection. The line,

"We long t' experience all thy name,"

is not Wesleyan. If the hymn must be retained, the seventh verse at least may be spared. The transition from "*our souls*" to "*mine eyes*" is rather precipitate, as is the change from "*standing*" to "*taking seats*" in the verse preceding: but the whole hymn is faulty.

Hymn 138 is a paraphrase on a part of the Revelation. It is not in the Wesleyan collection. It is objectionable; especially the fourth verse :—

*"A golden girdle binds his breast,
Whence streams of consolation flow,
Milk for his new-born babes, who rest
In him, nor other comfort know."*

The entire hymn might well be superseded.

Hymn 139. We are in doubt as to the authorship of these lines. It is a matter of no great consequence. Perhaps it may remain, as it is in a metre exceedingly rare in hymnology.

Hymn 140. This is a part of *Watts's* version of the one hundred and thirty-ninth Psalm. We prefer, perhaps from early association, the doctor's own language. In the first verse he wrote :—

“*In all my vast concerns with thee,
In vain my soul would try
To shun thy presence, Lord, or flee,*” &c.

In verse 4 the doctor wrote :—

“*Enclosed on every side.*”

This is better in our judgment than the word “beset,” as we have it.

Hymn 141. This is one of Charles Wesley's translations from the German.

Hymn 142. “Soul,” for “*souls*,” in the second stanza, is probably a typographical error that has been perpetuated in our collection.

Hymn 143. This has been omitted in the English collection. The third stanza would be improved by reading :—

“Thy loving, pow'rful Spirit shed;
Speak thou our sins forgiven:
And haste, throughout the lump to spread
The sanctifying leaven.”

Hymn 145. By omitting the third and fourth stanzas we should get rid of the prosaic line, and unscriptural phrase,

“And fix thy *agent* in our heart ;”

as well as the strong expression, “God-commanding ;” at the same time the unity of sentiment would be as well preserved.

Hymn 146. For other reasons than that the rhyme at the close of each stanza, save one, is faulty, we would omit this hymn entirely.

Hymn 148. The second, fourth, and sixth stanzas being omitted, this hymn would sustain no injury.

Hymn 150. The expressions in the eighth and ninth verses of this hymn,

“Brought them to the birth in vain,”

and,

“Bid every struggling child be born,”

are to a Christian perfectly intelligible ; and the thought, especially in times of revival, appropriate. The language might be uttered

in secret prayer, but is scarcely proper for singing. We would close the hymn with verse 5.

Hymn 151. We suppose this to be but seldom used in our congregations. We pray that the time may never again come when it will be appropriate.

The hymns under the head of "Prayer and Watchfulness," from the one hundred and fifty-third to the one hundred and seventy-fifth, inclusive, are immeasurably superior to any others of that character in the language. With the exception of the one hundred and sixty-first, which is *Watts's*, the one hundred and seventieth, which is by an unknown author, and the one hundred and seventy-fourth, which was written by *Hart*, they are all Charles Wesley's. The most of them have been, with alterations, but generally without acknowledgment, transcribed into the more recent collections of our sister churches. Two or three of them are sufficiently long to be divided, but none of them need the pruning-knife.

Hymn 161 was written, so says tradition, by the good doctor, after the unsuccessful issue of a love adventure.

It may perhaps amuse the reader to compare the first stanza of hymn 164, as it stands in our book, with the same in the Wesleyan collection :—

" *How many pass the guilty night*
In revelling and frantic mirth ;
The creature is their sole delight,
Their happiness the things of earth :
For us, suffice the season past ;
We choose the better part at last."

Hymn 182. We would omit the third and fourth stanzas.

Hymn 183. The language in the last stanza,

" And lo ! I come thy cross to share,
 Echo thy sacrificial prayer,
 And with my Saviour die !"

is perhaps too strong. The hymn would close beautifully with the fourth stanza.

Hymn 185. The fourth, fifth, and sixth verses might be omitted.

Hymn 186. In the second stanza,

" Feel, my soul, the pangs divine ;"

and in the third,

" *Rival of thy passion prove ;"*

are sentiments that can be used only by those who, like the poet, are borne aloft on the wings of the seraphim. It is a magnificent

poem, and steals its way deeper into the heart of the reader at every perusal.

Hymn 187 appears to be a favorite in many places. There is no accounting for tastes. We would willingly have its place supplied with something else.

Hymns 190 and 191 are by *Watts*. They have both been altered, and, by omissions, improved.

Hymn 192. We know not the author of this hymn. It might well be spared.

Hymn 193. The seventh, eighth, and ninth verses might be omitted.

Hymn 194, being very similar in sentiment to the preceding, might be omitted. It was first published by *Whitefield*.

Hymn 195. The lines,

"Give me to feel thy agonies,
One drop of thy sad cup afford,"

were strongly objected to by Dr. Clarke. The whole hymn is highly impassioned, too much so for ordinary use.

Hymn 196. Two stanzas from this hymn have been omitted in our collection. In one of them, a new epithet is applied to the Saviour; to ears unacquainted with the Greek bordering on the ludicrous:—

"Dies the glorious Cause of all,
The true eternal Pan!"

As we have a great many hymns very similar in character, it being a theme on which the great lyrist delighted to dwell, its place might be supplied by one or two others.

Hymn 197 might be divided at the end of the fourth stanza.

Hymn 198. The apparent abruptness with which this hymn commences, renders the meaning of the first line doubtful without some thought. The second line, as written by Wesley, reads:—

"*Federal* head of all mankind."

The adjective appears necessary to preserve the connection between the two lines. Neither this nor the one following will ever be much used in congregational singing.

Hymn 201. This beautiful hymn is believed to be the production of *Dr. Watts*. It is found in many collections, and in no two that we have seen is it the same. Some have added, others have omitted, and all have made alterations. In our book, the first line reads,

"Father, how wide thy glories shine,"

an alteration which mars the rhyme. In all others, including the Wesleyan collection :—

“ Father, how wide thy *glory shines*.”

The doxology at the close, in our collection, appears to have been added in this country, perhaps by Bishop Coke.

Hymn 203. This is also *Watts's*. The only objection to it is its length. In Rippon's collection it makes a beautiful hymn, by the omission of verses 3 to 9 inclusive.

Hymn 204. This is Charles Wesley's paraphrase of the one hundred and forty-eighth Psalm. It is superior, in some respects, to either of the three versions given by Watts of the same psalm. It is not found in the Wesleyan collection ; omitted probably on account of its length and the difficulty of dividing or abbreviating it.

Hymn 205. The first four stanzas would constitute a hymn of sufficient length, strikingly expressive and finished.

Hymn 206. The last line of verse 1 has been improved in our collection. Wesley wrote :—

“ *Our songs we make of thee.*”

We have omitted his second verse :—

“ Thou neither canst be felt nor seen ;
Thou art a Spirit pure ;
Thou from eternity hast been,
And always shalt endure.”

Perhaps the fourth verse as it stands in our book might also be omitted.

Hymn 207. This is a long poem on the attributes of God, containing some striking thoughts happily expressed. It was not designed as a *hymn*, and is seldom if ever used in the public worship of God. It occupies space that would suffice for four or five hymns of ordinary length.

Hymn 212. In this hymn of Dr. *Watts's* an evident improvement has been made in the second verse. He says :—

“ The lowest step around thy seat
Rises too high for Gabriel's feet ;
In vain the tall archangel tries
To reach thine height with wond'ring eyes.”

The alteration,

“ Thee while the first archangel sings,
He hides his face behind his wings,”

appears to be borrowed from hymn 213,

“ Thee while dust and ashes sings,”

or, as it is in the Wesleyan collection,

"Thee while *man, the earth-born*, sings,
Angels shrink within their wings."

Hymn 214. This was written by *Samuel Wesley*. It is, as are also the one preceding, and the two following, a beautiful tribute of praise to the Trinity. Perhaps it would be an improvement to read the third line of the third verse :—

"And Thee, Spirit of holiness."

A similar amendment might be made in the last line of verse 3, hymn 216.

The hymns under the head "Sacramental," from hymn 219 to hymn 236 inclusive, are all appropriate. In this department our book is much richer than is the collection in use among our Wesleyan brethren in England. Hymns 219, 222, 224, and 229, are of doubtful authorship. Hymn 231 was written by *Steele*, and hymn 232 by *Doddridge*. We know not, nor is it of much consequence, who manufactured hymns 234, 235. The second verse of the former is taken verbatim from *Watts*, as is also the first verse of hymn 235.

The hymns in the next division, "Rejoicing and Praise," are by a variety of authors. Thus to *Watts* belong hymns 252, 257, 261, 262, 263, 264, 266, 267, 268, 269, 271, and 276. Hymn 244 is from the *German*. Hymn 249 was written by *Newton*. Hymn 250 by *Robinson*. *Rippon* has published hymn 259, which we do not find in the Wesleyan collection, as his own. Perhaps it is, although so far above his usual level that we cannot help doubting, especially as he has forgotten to give credit for that admirable poem of Charles Wesley's—"Jesus, let thy pitying eye," &c. Hymn 270 is an enduring monument to the memory of *Olivers*. Hymn 272 is *Hart's*. Hymn 278 was written by JOHN WESLEY. In the collection used in England it is in the short metre. By comparing the first stanza, the reader will see how this metamorphosis has been effected. In the Wesleyan collection,

"Ye simple souls that stray
Far from the paths of peace,
That *lonely*, unfrequented way,
To life and happiness ;
Why will ye folly love," &c.,

and thus throughout the entire hymn, with the exception of the third stanza, which is not in the Wesleyan book. Of hymn 280 we are not able to name the author with certainty, and hymn 298 is the well-known version of the nineteenth Psalm, by *Addison*.

Considerable additions might be made to this general division, and improvements by mending or omitting the second verse of hymn 237; by finding substitutes for hymns 238, 247, 260, 282; by abbreviating hymns 244, 285, 293, 297. Hymn 248 is a parody on the national anthem—God save the King—and one of the best we have ever met with. It is a little remarkable that the loyalty of our British brethren has not induced them to give it a place in their selection. It was first published by *Madan*. For the substitution of “sweetly” for *swiftly*, in the second verse of hymn 257, we see no good reason. Perhaps it was originally a typographical error. Hymn 262 has been improved by the omission of two stanzas, and especially by two little alterations made by a master hand. Watts wrote,

and, “I’ll praise my Maker *with my breath*,”
 “The Lord *hath eyes to give the blind* ;”

which are tame when contrasted with

and, “I’ll praise my Maker *while I’ve breath*,”
 “The Lord *pours eyesight on the blind*.”

The second verse of hymn 271 has been altered. The latter lines, as written by the author, are :—

“And since I knew thy graces first,
 I spake thy glories more.”

For the sake of preserving the connection we should incline to restore, between the third and fourth verses, one of those which has been omitted :—

“How will my lips rejoice to tell
 The vict’ries of my King ;
 My soul, redeem’d from death and hell,
 Shall thy salvation sing.”

Hymn 274 is deservedly a great favorite. Five stanzas, equally beautiful with the rest, have been omitted. Three of them would make another perfect hymn; and to show the riches that yet remain in the treasury of Charles Wesley, we transcribe them :—

“A stranger in the world below,
 I calmly sojourn here ;
 Nor can its happiness or wo
 Provoke my hope or fear :
 Its evils in a moment end,
 Its joys as soon are past,

But O the bliss to which I tend
Eternally shall last.

To that Jerusalem above,
With singing I repair ;
And even now, my hope and love,
My heart and soul are there :
There my exalted Saviour stands,
My merciful High Priest,
And still extends his wounded hands,
To take me to his breast.

Then let me suddenly remove,
That hidden life to share :
I shall not lose my friends above,
But more enjoy them there.
There we in Jesus' praise shall join,
His boundless love proclaim,
And solemnize, in songs divine,
The marriage of the Lamb."

Hymn 275. We are in doubt as to the authorship of this hymn. It commences in a noble strain, but flattens amazingly in its progress. The second stanza, for instance, appears to have been concocted with violent effort. No *muse* had any hand in it :—

"While in affliction's furnace,
And passing through the fire, (fi-er)
Thy love we praise, which *knows no days*,
And ever brings us *nigher*," &c.

A kind of nocturnal love, that, "which knows no days;" but then it "brings us nigher,"—to the fire !

Hymn 276. The second and third verses of this hymn are not found in any other collection we have met with. The allusions to "the rose," and "the lily," and "the lark," appear to have been suggested by the generalized language of the author :—

"Nature in every dress
Her humble homage pays,
And finds a thousand ways t' express
Thine undissembled praise."

Instead of the prayer for the descent of "celestial fire," and the "flames of pure desire," as we have it, Watts wrote :—

"Create my soul anew,
Else all my worship's vain ;
This wretched heart will ne'er be true,
Until 'tis form'd again."

Hymn 277. This is in a measure in which, so far as our knowledge extends, there is no faultless hymn in the language. The last three verses, the third and fourth especially, are below mediocrity.

Hymn 279. This spirited amplification of Romans x, 6, etc., is in that mingling of Iambic and Trochaic verse in which the poet of Methodism has never had an equal.

Hymn 280. This is no favorite with us. The pretensions to rhyme in the triplets ending with "blood," "God," "word," and "man," "name," "reign," excite a feeling of pity for the toiling author, which is converted into something else when we stumble upon his plagiarism from hymn 266 :—

"When rolling years shall cease to move."

Hymn 284. Perhaps some would differ with us in a suggested alteration of the first verse. Instead of

"Wash'd in the sanctifying blood
Of an expiring Deity ;"

we would prefer

"Wash'd in the sanctifying blood
Of Him who died on Calvary."

Hymn 295. The *poetry* of this hymn is unobjectionable. The *sentiments* will not bear rigid criticism, more especially verse 4 :—

"Let *life* immortal seize my *clay* ;
Let *love* refine my *blood*," &c.

It is by an unknown author.

We come now to the distinguishing glory of the Methodist Hymn-Book. The hymns under the head of "Full Redemption," although several of them are not found in the Wesleyan collection, as, for instance, hymns 329, 337, 354, 355, and two or three others, are all, with one exception, the fruits of the sanctified muse of Charles Wesley. Hymn 301 is a translation from the *French*, and hymns 304 and 307 are from the *German*. The exception is hymn 310, which was written by *Whitefield*, before Calvinism had infused its bitterness into his spirit. The second stanza, as it stands in our collection, was added by Charles Wesley. It has been omitted in the later editions of the collection used in England, our brethren there preferring that Whitefield's composition should remain as originally written. Plagiarists have taken more liberty with the hymns in this division than any others. Some of them have been treated cruelly ; patched with rags of a coarser texture, and even of a different color ; cropped, so that they appear, to use an expressive vulgarism, lop-sided ; disguised, maimed, mutilated

to such a degree that neither the eye nor the ear of their own father would readily recognize them. It is consoling that the name of the original author has not been attached to his much-abused offspring, by those from whose hands they have received this treatment. Indeed, there seems to be, on the part of many hymn-compilers, a conscientious regard for the reputation of the Methodist poet, for which we ought to be thankful. That, or some other motive, prompts them to omit his name, and by various little artifices to cover from the world's knowledge the fact of their indebtedness. Thus, in books professing to give the names of the authors of the various hymns, we find some credited to J. C. W., without a hint as to the meaning of those letters; others are said to be—Toplady's *alteration*; a few we have met with credited to Meth. Col.; others to Luth. Col.; and yet others to Hart. Col. Multitudes are left without acknowledgment, so that the reader may attribute them to the pen of the compiler; or infer, that "they were furnished expressly for this work by some of his friends."

That we may not startle the reader by the amendments we are about to suggest in this division of the Hymn-Book, we shall notice, in the first place, some of the alterations that have been already made.

Hymn 300. One verse has been omitted with propriety, and the epithet *lovely* as we read it, (verse 1,) is in the Wesleyan collection, "*glorious*." From hymn 301 two verses have been omitted. They are good, but the hymn is long enough without them. From hymn 309 we have expunged four verses, and one from hymn 311. The eighth verse of our three hundred and twenty-third hymn is not in the Wesleyan collection. Our book omits the second and the last verses from hymn 324; and from hymn 330, two verses, which ought to be restored. In the second verse of hymn 336 we read *powers*; Wesley, "choirs;" and we have rejected the four latter verses. The fourth in Wesley's collection reads in the two last lines,—

"My heart no longer gives the lie
To my deceitful prayer."

With less propriety we have omitted one verse from hymn 343. It comes in between the last two:—

"According to our faith in thee
Let it to us be done!
O that we all thy face might see,
And know as we are known!"

Hymns 346 and 347 constitute but one hymn in the Wesleyan collection.

In hymn 350 we have substituted *waiting* for "gasping," ver. 1. Hymn 356 has been altered. In the second verse Wesley wrote,

"The seed of sin's disease,"

instead of

"*This inward dire disease,*"

which is a very doubtful improvement. One entire verse has also been omitted.

Hymn 359 is three verses taken from the three hundred and sixty-first of the Wesleyan collection; part of the remainder constitutes our three hundred and eighteenth.

If now the reader will turn to the Hymn-Book he will find reasons—we have not room to specify them—for agreeing with us in wishing to substitute others for hymns 304, 313, 320, 329, 333, 335, 345, 364, 369, 376. We would also submit the propriety of shortening hymn 299, by omitting verses 2, 3, 7; hymn 303, by omitting verses 5, 6, 7. Hymn 307, by omitting verses 7, 8. We dislike the "*Till*" in the first and second verses of hymn 318. It would certainly be improved in every respect by commencing it at what is now verse 3. From the second part of hymn 321 we could spare the third stanza. Hymn 328 would end well with the fourth stanza. We would omit from hymn 332 the fifth, eighth, and ninth verses; and from hymn 341, the sixth and seventh of part first. Hymn 361 would not be injured by omitting stanzas 3, 6, 7, 8, nor hymn 367, by commencing it at the second. From hymn 368 we would omit stanza 3; and the fourth and fifth from hymn 373. Several of the hymns in this division may also be happily divided. The poetry and sentiments are too good to be lost, and their length is their only objection.

With respect to the authorship of the hymns under the next head, "Trusting in Grace and Providence," we give credit to *Addison* for hymns 377, 388; to *Watts* for hymns 379, 381. *Hill* is the author of hymn 378, without exception the best he ever wrote. To *Cennick* belong hymns 380, 382. To *Newton* hymn 387. To *Cowper* hymn 389, and to *Rippon* hymn 390.

From hymn 377 the Wesleyan collection has left out verses 2, 8. Perhaps verse 3 might also be omitted.

Hymn 378. Of this, the Wesleyan collection omits stanzas 4, 5, and adds one that is not in our book.

Watts includes verses 3, 4, of hymn 381, in brackets. They might be omitted.

The lines of hymn 384,

"And whatsoe'er thou will'st
Thou dost, O King of kings," &c.,

are not in the Wesleyan collection. They are unequal to the rest of the hymn.

Hymn 385 is a translation from the *German*. It would lose nothing by the omission of the last verse.

Hymn 387. This was written by Rev. *John Newton*, and first published in a collection made jointly by himself and the poet Cowper. Of that peculiar measure it is the best we have seen. Two verses might be spared; and if we were to decide, they should be, with some hesitancy, verses 3, 4.

Hymn 390 has undergone numerous alterations. In one edition of Rippon, the second line reads,—

“Let fear in me no more have place.”

The third stanza has also been altered; and the fourth in the original is as follows:—

“In hope—believing against hope,
His promised mercy will I claim:
His gracious word shall bear me up
To seek salvation in his name:
Soon, my dear Saviour, bring it nigh!
My soul shall then outstrip the wind,
On wings of love mount up on high,
And leave the world and sin behind.”

We would omit the sixth and seventh stanzas of hymn 392, and the fourth and fifth of hymn 394, and could readily be persuaded to dispense with the three hundred and ninety-eighth entirely.

The two concluding stanzas of hymn 399 are eminently beautiful. They would make a hymn by themselves, and would thus be more likely to be used in our congregations. It is a translation from the German.

Hymn 400, which introduces us to the division entitled “The Christian Warfare,” is one of the most spirit-stirring exhortations that was ever “married to immortal verse.” It is a perfect poem, and is happily followed in our collection by the sounding of the trumpet in hymn 401. He who touches them does it at his peril. To attempt to mend either would be to “gild refined gold.” In our book the little preposition *in* has crept into the fourth line, stanza second, of hymn 401, in place of “*with*.” We want that word restored.

Hymn 402 is by *Dr. Watts*, a great favorite everywhere.

In hymn 403 our collection has very properly omitted two verses; and one stanza of hymn 404.

Hymn 408. The second stanza,

"I cannot see thy face and live!
Then let me see thy face and die!" &c.,

has been omitted in the later editions of the Wesleyan collection. We would omit also the fourth:—

"Moses thy backward parts might see," &c.

Hymn 411. In a volume entitled "Select Hymns, adapted to the Devotional Exercises of the Baptist Denomination, by James H. Linsley, and Gustavus F. Davis," we find this beautiful hymn credited to—Miller! We are aware that the lines,

"Which saves us to the uttermost,
Till we can sin no more,"

might have been deemed heterodox by their readers, had they been assigned to Charles Wesley; and can very well appreciate the situation of the compilers: but they were not wise. Had they assigned it to *Cowper*, their readers would not have been led to ask the unanswerable question, Who is that Miller? The remaining hymns, under the head of "Christian Fellowship," are also Wesley's, with the exception of hymns 443, 445, 452. The last is by *Fawcett*, and the two former are parts of *Watts's* common and short metre versions of the one hundred and thirty-third Psalm. The four hundred and forty-third has been altered, we know not by whom. *Watts* wrote,—

"Lo, what an entertaining sight
Are brethren that agree,
Brethren, whose cheerful hearts unite
In bands of piety."

From each, our book has omitted one verse, so that there can be no objection to them on account of their length.

Hymns 412 and 414 are beautiful specimens of the Anapæstic measure. Taking versification and sentiment together, there is nothing in the range of English poetry that exceeds the stanza,—

"In assù-rance of hòpe, we to Jè-sus look ùp,
Till his bàn-ner unfùl'd in the air
From our gràves we shall sèe, and cry òut—It is HÈ!
And fly ùp to acknòwledge him therè."

From hymn 414 we might omit stanzas 7, 8. The lines,

"With his mercy's full blaze,
With the sight of his face,
Our beatified spirits he feeds,"

do not convey a very definite idea; nor are we quite sure that we know in what sense we should understand the line,—

"Eternity seems as a day!"

Hymn 424. From this hymn our collection has cut off the larger part; four verses, not much inferior to those retained. One of them has been dovetailed into the four hundred and twenty-seventh, in our book.

There is something very striking as well as Scriptural in the third verse of hymn 426 :—

“With us *thou art* assembled here,” &c.

The same thought occurs in even stronger language in the third stanza of hymn 436 :—

“Present *we know thou art*,” &c.

Stennett, versifying the same passage, writes,—

“There, says the Saviour, *will I be*
Amid this little company.”

The Saviour’s language is—“*There am I.*”

Hymn 429 might be divided at the end of verse fourth; and a competent hand would do the church a service by dividing or abbreviating the two following. They are both beautiful, and we see nothing to alter unless it be the lines :—

“Clothed with the sun, we smile to see
The moon beneath our feet.”

Hymn 432. From this hymn our collection has omitted four verses which are retained in the English collection. The omission has done it no injury.

Hymn 434. The second stanza, being an allusion to Lot’s escape from Sodom, is not equal to the rest of this admirable hymn. There is thrilling poetry in the last stanza.

Hymn 435. Two stanzas have been with propriety omitted.

Hymn 438 is readily susceptible of division at the end of the fourth verse.

Hymn 439. The rhyme is faulty in verse 3. If it were omitted, and verse 4 also, the connection would not be broken, and the hymn would be improved.

Hymn 441. Perhaps another word for the rhythm’s sake might be substituted for “cemented,” in the first stanza.

Hymn 442. The lines,

“A drop of that unbounded sea
O Lord, resorb it into thee!”

do not convey a very intelligible idea. If by the *drop* we are to understand “our love,” we doubt the propriety of wishing it to be *resorbed*.

Hymn 447. This is taken from a long poem which we find

entire in the Wesleyan collection, making four separate hymns. Several of the couplets have been transposed, and it has been skillfully done.

Hymn 448 being on a subject frequently dwelt upon, and in a metre of which we have a great many, might be omitted.

Hymn 452 was written by *Fawcett*.

Hymn 454. We have two verses, (6, 7,) that are not in the Wesleyan collection.

Hymn 456 is by *Watts*.

Hymn 457 is below Wesley's general standard, and might with propriety be superseded.

Hymn 458 is faulty in the third verse, and might also be spared.

Hymn 459. We know not to whose muse to attribute this. The two first lines are evidently taken from Wesley's :—

“ Comfort, ye ministers of grace,
Comfort *my* people, saith your God !”

The remainder is on a different subject. It is not in the English collection, nor are the two following, which nevertheless, from internal evidence, we pronounce to be Wesley's.

Hymns 462, 463, which are translations from the *German*, beautified in their passage by the poet of Methodism, make but one (the two hundred and seventy-ninth) in the Wesleyan collection. It has been happily divided.

Hymn 464 might be omitted.

Hymn 465. The second stanza, as written by Wesley, has been omitted in our collection. It is as follows :—

“ Not all the powers of hell can fright
A soul that walks with Christ in light :
He walks and cannot fall :
Clearly he sees, and wins his way,
Shining unto the perfect day,
And more than conquers all.”

The reason for its omission is evident, though not valid, for certainly *while* a soul walks with Christ it cannot fall. We should prefer the omission of the last stanza, in which occurs the bravado :

“ And if he can obtain thy leave,
Let Satan pluck me thence.”

Hymn 466. From this hymn of *Dr. Watts's* have been omitted his third and fifth verses. We advocate the restoration of the latter. The hymn is incomplete without it :—

“ He spake, and light shone round his head,
 On a bright cloud to heaven he rode ;
 They to the farthest nation spread
 The grace of their ascended God.”

Hymn 468. The third verse of this beautiful hymn was omitted in the editions prepared by father Hitt. For what reason it is impossible to say. Instead of it, he gave us the following, which, if it were written by himself, is the best specimen of his poetic skill that we have met with :—

“ O that my Jesus’ heavenly charms
 Might every bosom move !
 Fly, sinners, fly into those arms
 Of everlasting love.”

Hymn 469 is by an unknown author. In the fourth verse we should have read “ stand” instead of *stood* ; but “ rhymes are more imperative than kings.” As it is, the verb *look*, in the last line, ought also to have been in the past tense.

Hymn 471. This was written by the pious *Doddridge*. By some means the word *And* has usurped the place of “ All” in the beginning of the fourth verse.

Hymn 473 is a very appropriate prayer for one who would be wise to win souls. As we have others on the same topic, which are not so personal in their character, it might perhaps be omitted in a collection designed for the public.

Hymn 475. We have not met with these lines in any other collection. They are, we suspect, of cisatlantic origin.

Hymn 476. This is a long, and not very literal paraphrase of the Lord’s prayer. The poetry is good ; but its length, and the difficulty of selecting from it parts suitable for singing, are, with us, reasons sufficient for wishing the space it occupies otherwise filled.

Hymn 479 is a part of *Dr. Watts’s* paraphrase of the seventy-second Psalm. We know not who supplied the second verse. It is not found in the doctor’s collection ; nor in the Wesleyan Hymn-Book, which adds from the original three verses :—

“ Blessings abound where’er he reigns ;
 The pris’ner leaps to lose his chains ;
 The weary find eternal rest ;
 And all the sons of want are blest.

Where he displays his healing power
 Death and the curse are known no more :
 In him the tribes of Adam boast
 More blessings than their father lost.

Let every creature rise and bring
 Its grateful honors to our King ;
 Angels descend with songs again,
 And earth prolong the joyful strain."

The last line is evidently an improvement on the original :—

" And earth repeat the long Amen."

Hymn 481. The apparently strange prayer in the last lines of this hymn is accounted for by the fact that it reads in the original,—

" Wisdom, pure religious fear,
 Our king's peculiar treasure prove."

Father Hitt, to suit it to republican America, altered the word, and we now pray that "piety sincere" may prove the "peculiar treasure" of our *land*, and that *it* may be inspired with "humble love."

Hymn 482 is a collection of Scriptural sentiments, in general well expressed, but lacking unity.

Of the hymns under the head—"Christmas," we find but two (485, 490) in the Wesleyan collection. Hymn 488 is by *Watts*. Hymn 489 is the very best specimen of the versification of *Tate* and *Brady* that has fallen to our notice. Hymn 491 is by *Medly*. The rest are Charles Wesley's, with the exception of hymn 487, which is by an unknown hand. The feeble *For*, in the fifth line of the first stanza, was necessary for the metre's sake, but destroys the *poetical* reputation of the author. From hymn 485 we would omit the second stanza, the latter part of which is not literally true ; and the fourth, which is unnecessary. We should incline also to find substitutes for hymn 486, which is too discursive, and for hymn 488, which is very similar to the one immediately following. In the collection of our Protestant Episcopal brethren, (certified by B. T. Onderdonk, 1832,) our four hundred and ninetieth is very ingeniously altered, and as it is one of the few alterations that can honestly be deemed improvements, we would accept it. They read, beginning at the third line of the second stanza :—

" Late in time behold him come,
 Offspring of the virgin's womb !
 Veil'd in flesh the Godhead see !
 Hail th' incarnate Deity :
 Pleased, as man, with man to dwell,
 Jesus, now *Emanuel*.
 Ris'n with healing in his wings,
 Light and life to all he brings ;
 Hail the Sun of righteousness,
 Hail the heaven-born Prince of peace."

With these last four lines transposed, as the reader will observe, they conclude the hymn, omitting the remainder.

Our hymns for the "New Year" are unobjectionable. They are all Wesley's. Under the head of "Family Worship," we have a sufficient variety. Many of them have no place in the Wesleyan collection, and a few might with propriety be shortened. Of those under this head, we are indebted to *Watts* for hymns 500, 501, 502, 504, 509. They have undergone sundry alterations; some have been abbreviated and improved. The last two verses of hymn 502 have been transposed. We prefer them as originally written, the prayer for the guidance of the Spirit following, instead of preceding, the determination to resort to the Lord's house:—

4. "But to thy house will I resort,
To taste thy mercies there;
I will frequent thine holy court,
And worship in thy fear.

5. "O may the Spirit guide my feet," &c.

In the third verse of hymn 504, the original says,

- "I yield myself to thy command;
To thee *I consecrate my days,*"

instead of,

- "To thee devote my nights and days,"

as we have it.

From hymn 509 our collection omits, with propriety, two verses.

Hymns 503 and 507 were originally published by *Rippon*, for whose collection they were furnished by unknown authors. From the former, three verses have been omitted; and in the latter, the second verse, as found in our collection, has been substituted for the fourth, as originally written.

In the fourth stanza of hymn 513, an alteration, which we think should be made in all similar cases, has happily found a place in our collection. Wesley wrote,—

- "That taught by thy good Spirit and led."

We have it,—

- "That by thy Spirit taught and led."

There is a hiatus between the conclusion of the first, and the commencement of the second part of hymn 517, as it stands in our book. Two verses as written by Wesley have been properly omitted. We would omit the entire hymn. After the line,

- "To murderer Moloch, through the fire,"

Wesley wrote, and the lines still stand in the Wesleyan collection,—

“O let us not the demon please ;
Our offspring to destruction doom !
Strengthen a sin-sick soul’s disease,
Or damn him from his mother’s womb !

Rather this hour resume his breath,
From selfishness and pride to save ;
By death prevent the second death,
And hide him in the silent grave !”

Two or three others in this division might, with propriety, be superseded, and those which are too long might, by a skillful hand, be abbreviated without injury. We would, at any rate, make room for a part of the well-known morning hymn of the good old *Bishop Ken* :—

“Awake, my soul, and with the sun
Thy daily course of duty run,” &c. ;

and for the evening song of the same author,—

“Glory to thee, my God, this night,
For all the blessings of the light,” &c.

It is not generally known that the doxology,

“Praise God from whom all blessings flow,” &c.,

which is called hymn 606 in our collection, was originally attached to these effusions : and that to *Ken* the church is indebted for a doxology, more simple, more expressive, and more frequently used than any other.

Hymn 522 is a hymn for Easter. It is the production of *Samuel Wesley*. There is nothing, even in the poetry of his brother Charles, to exceed the energy of the thoughts and the expression in the third and fourth verses. The fifth and sixth are feeble by the contrast. They were added by another hand, and have no place in the British collection.

Hymns 523, 525. These are on the same subject, by Charles Wesley. The Protestant Episcopal collection has appropriated them both. In the second stanza of the former they have substituted the word *radiant* for “ethereal,” for no good reason ; and in the third verse of hymn 525 they read *power* for “pomp.” They omit also the last two verses.

Hymn 524 is one of Dr. *Watts’s* lyrics, and is deservedly a great favorite. It is found in many collections. In some that we have

seen, we find an alteration in the latter part of the second stanza, thus :—

“ *Ye saints approach ! the anguish view
Of Him who groans beneath your load ;
He gives his precious life for you,
For you he sheds his precious blood.*”

The alteration was made, we believe, by *Dr. Dwight*. We prefer the simpler strain of the author as it stands in our collection ; and should like to have, instead of the line included in parentheses in the second stanza,

(“ In vain the tomb forbids his rise,”)

the original restored :—

“ Up to his Father’s courts he flies.”

We know not by whom this amendment was made.

Of the hymns “For the Sabbath,” hymns 526 and 528 are *Watts’s*. The five hundred and twenty-ninth was written by *Stennett*. The two verses called hymn 527 are by an author unknown ; and hymn 530, which is not in any other collection we have met with, was written, we think, by Charles Wesley. From hymn 526 our collection has left out five verses, and the third has been transposed. *Watts* has it :—

“ *But I shall share a glorious part,
When grace hath well refined my heart,
And fresh supplies,*” &c.

It is, with the exception of the first verse, a tame affair ; rather better, perhaps, before it was altered, but not much.

An evident improvement has been made in the third verse of hymn 528. *Watts* says,—

“ One day *amidst* the place
Where my dear God *hath been,*” &c.

The Episcopal collection has it,—

“ One day *amidst* the place
Where *Jesus is within,*
Is *better* than ten thousand days
Of *pleasure and of sin.*”

We prefer their amendment of the last verse : *Watts* says, as in our book,—

“ My willing soul would stay
In such a frame as this,
And sit and sing herself away
To everlasting bliss.”

The amendment is in the latter lines,—

“ *Till it is call'd to soar away*
To everlasting bliss.”

Hymn 534, on “Reading the Scriptures,” was written by *Dr. Stennett*, the first and second verses having been omitted, and a slight alteration made in the third, with which the hymn commences in our collection; and *Steele* is the author of hymn 535.

Hymn 539. This is a very popular hymn of *Dr. Watts's*. It is found in many collections. In our own, two verses have been omitted. They have a place in the Wesleyan Hymn-Book, and constitute the fourth and fifth, as originally written:—

“ But tim'rous mortals start and shrink,
To cross this narrow sea,
And linger, shiv'ring (*trembling* in some copies) on the brink,
And fear to launch away.

O! could we make our doubts remove
Those gloomy doubts that rise,
And see the Canaan that we love
With unclouded eyes.”

(“ *With faith's illumined eyes,*” in one collection.)

Hymn 546 is in a similar strain by *Dr. Stennett*. *Dwight*, disliking the epithet “stormy,” applied in the first verse to the banks of the Jordan, altered it to *rugged*. The last verse as it stands in our collection is not in the original, nor do we find it anywhere else. It is altogether unnecessary.

Hymn 547. We have been unable to discover the author of this hymn, nor do we find it in any other collection.

Hymn 548. Perhaps for public congregations, the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth stanzas might be omitted. The remainder makes a perfect hymn.

Hymn 549 is in the strong language which can be used only by one who has fought the fight and gained the victory. It is doubtful whether even such a one ought to indulge in “passionate longings for home.” The hymn is omitted in the English collection, and we would suggest the propriety of substituting for it those admirable verses of Charles Wesley, beginning,—

“ Come let us join our friends above,
Who have obtained the prize.”

We know not how it happened that this hymn found no place in our original collection, nor in the additional hymns, nor yet in the Supplement. It was a great favorite with John Wesley; and is

frequently sung in the British Conference when the death of a member of that body is announced. Peculiarly touching, on such an occasion, as well as highly poetical, are the lines,—

“ *One family we dwell in Him,
One church above, beneath,
Though now divided by the stream,
The narrow stream of death ;
One army of the living God,
To his command we bow ;
Part of his host have cross'd the flood,
And part are crossing now.* ”

And the majestic power of faith by which the very gates of the new Jerusalem are thrown open, was never more strikingly displayed than in the lines,—

“ *Ev'n now by faith we join our hands
With those that went before ;
And greet the blood-besprinkled bands
On the eternal shore !* ”

Of “Funeral Hymns” our collection contains a sufficient variety. To *Watts*, whose muse delighted to dwell on gloomy subjects, we are indebted for hymn 550 ; hymn 553, which is a part of his version of the ninetieth Psalm, with some omissions and alterations ; hymn 554, in which the substitution of the word *ever* for “often,” in the third verse, is a slight but manifest improvement ; and hymns 562, 563, and 565. Hymn 557 is in a strain of *hyper*-hyperbole. It was written by *Whitefield*, and might well be superseded, especially as we have hymns 558 and 560, in the same metre, and similar in sentiment, without the objectionable exaggeration. Hymn 559 is by an unknown hand. It is unworthy the space it occupies. To hymn 566, which, in the English collection, concludes with the prayer so often offered by the founder of Methodism,

“ *My body with my charge lay down,
And cease at once to work and live,* ”

our collection has added, from some source now unknown, two rather meagre verses. The beautiful lines, constituting hymn 568, were written by *Samuel Wesley* ; the prosaic sentiments of hymn 570 were “done into rhyme” by *Hart* ; and hymn 571, in which occur the oft-quoted lines,

“ *Millions of infant souls compose
The family above,* ”

was written by *Stennett*. The hymns in this division, with the

exceptions adverted to, are all Charles Wesley's, and are, in our opinion, superior to any others, on similar subjects.

In the next division, "Describing Judgment," are found some of the same author's loftiest flights; but, as the reader will have observed, it is no part of our design to specify beauties, or we should have been tempted into a volume scarcely less in size than the Hymn-Book itself. Hymn 573 was written by *Olivers*, although we have seen it attributed to another hand. It is not equal to his "God of Abraham," (hymns 270, and 660, in our collection,) but that is only saying what might be said of nearly every hymn in the language. In that glorious outburst of triumphant faith, hymn 576, a faulty punctuation occurs at the close of the first stanza. It should end with a colon instead of a period; and a mark of admiration (!) should take the place of the comma at the close of the first line of the second stanza. Hymn 579 is by *Watts*; altered, and improved by omissions; and hymns 577, 585, are of doubtful origin. The latter is below par; and, with our consent, would be expunged.

The "Additional Hymns," from hymn 588 to hymn 605 inclusive, were taken from the collection used in England. They are all from the pen of Charles Wesley, and are, with one or two exceptions, below his average standard. To adapt them for general use in congregational singing they all need more or less revision. To say nothing of these, we have already indicated omissions in the main body of the book, which would give place for *at least one hundred and fifty additional hymns* of suitable length. In doing this we have not suggested the rejection of one that is really valuable, or the omission of a verse that is essential to the unity or the beauty of a poem *considered as a hymn for the use of a congregation in the public worship of God*. The question then is—Can suitable substitutes be obtained for these proposed omissions?

We know that poetry equal to many of the hymns in our collection is not to be found; but there is a large number of very fair hymns on various subjects, from which a judicious hand might make a selection, that while it would greatly add to the variety of our book, would not materially lessen its poetic merit. There is, in the first place, poetry of *Charles Wesley's*, that has never been thus appropriated; and some that, having been in possession of his heirs, has but recently been made public. In making selections from that source, and indeed from any other, it ought to be borne in mind that we have already more than a fair proportion of hymns that are seldom used, in many places, solely on account of the measure in which they are written. More than *one-eighth* of our book is

in that variety denominated *six lines eights*, and nearly a hundred, almost *one-sixth* of the whole, are in one or other of the varieties of *sevens*.* We would admit no more *particular metres*, unless for very cogent reasons; simply because we have enough already; and confine the additions to long, common, and short measure hymns, in which last our book is rather deficient, they being fewer by twenty per cent. than the seldom used "*six lines eights*."

In perusing the poetry of *Dr. Watts*, we have been struck with the taste and judgment of those who prepared our collection, as evinced in their selections from that author. They have given us nearly all that is worth having; and he who forms his estimate of the doctor's poetic merit, simply from our collection, will rate him far above his deserts. He wrote a great deal of very middling rhyme. Indeed, he has but one additional hymn that we had marked as worthy of being perpetuated; and that, with several others of less value from the same author, has found a place in the "Supplement." It is hymn 671,—

"Give me the wings of faith," &c.

* There are of	Sevens and Sixes	.	.	.	.	.	.	21	
	Four Sevens	.	.	.	.	.	.	14	
	Eight Sevens	.	.	.	.	.	.	23	
	Six Sevens	.	.	.	.	.	.	7	
	Sevens, Sixes, and one Eight	.	.	.	.	.	.	19	
	Eights and Sevens	.	.	.	.	.	.	7	
	Two Sixes and four Sevens	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	
	Six Sevens and two Eights	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	
	Four Eights and two Sevens	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	
									97
Then we have, of	Six lines Eights	.	.	.	.	.	.	76	
	Four Eights and two Sixes	.	.	.	.	.	.	24	
	Eight Eights	.	.	.	.	.	.	16	
	Tens and Elevens	.	.	.	.	.	.	14	
	Four Sixes and two Eights	.	.	.	.	.	.	10	
	Other Particular Metres	.	.	.	.	.	.	24	164
	Making in all .	.	.	.	.	.	.	261	
The remainder is made up as follows:—									
	Of Common Metre Hymns .	.	.	.	.	.	.	158	
	Of Long Metre Hymns	.	.	.	.	.	.	127	
	Of Short Metre Hymns	.	.	.	.	.	.	61	346
	Total							607	

In the "Supplement" we have an addition of ninety, making in all six hundred and ninety-seven. The collection in use among the Wesleyan Methodists in England contains *seven hundred and sixty-nine*.

But although nothing more may be drawn from that source, there are others within our reach. *Cowper* versified many passages of Scripture, which may be found in the collection published by *Newton*, and which he distinguished from his own, although that was hardly necessary, by the letter C. A few of them are worthy of a place. From *Doddridge*, although but a moderate poet, several more, of eminently evangelical sentiment, might be selected. *Steele*, and *Hart*, and *Stennett*, to whom we are also already under several obligations, might be pressed for further contributions. In more modern days *Montgomery*, and *Heber*, and *Hemans*, and *Henry Kirke White*, and others less known to fame, have severally written hymns that deserve to be enrolled in every collection.

We are not disposed to find fault with the *titles* of the several divisions in our collection, nor to cavil at the *place* given to some of the hymns in those particular departments. Doubtless improvements might be made in both these respects. We contend that every preacher ought to be as well acquainted with the hymns in his own Hymn-Book, as he is—to use an expression of *Bishop Asbury's*—with his hat. The “*Table of Texts*” is very scanty, and ought to be enlarged, or omitted altogether. The “*Index of Subjects*,” prepared, we believe, by the present assistant editor of the *Christian Advocate*, is a valuable addition; but the *Alphabetical Index* needs revision. The hymns commencing with the same letter are, indeed, grouped together, but they are not alphabetical in those groups. See, for instance, the first line, “All thanks to the Lamb,” &c. Not finding it between “All praise,” and “All things,” one would be led, hastily, to conclude that it is not in the book. So too, “Father of all, whose powerful voice,” to notice no others, is a long way out of its place. These are, however, small matters, needing only to be pointed out to insure speedy correction; and should any of our readers incline to the opinion that we have been too minute in our criticisms generally, we have only to plead the importance of the subject: the Hymn-Book, second only, in the esteem of every true-hearted Methodist, to the Bible itself; and we would remind such of a celebrated saying of *Napoleon*:—Trifles make perfection, and—perfection is no trifle.

In closing this article, we may be permitted to say, that although our proposed *alterations* should not be deemed, in every case, *improvements*, even by readers of correct judgment; they are the result of much thought and patient study. We have suggested nothing rashly, nor without reasons that have appeared to ourselves satisfactory; but within the limits to which we have been necessarily confined, it was not possible, in every case, to spread

them out in detail. Whatever may be the result, we shall have the consciousness of having aimed at a good object. Neither here, nor hereafter, shall we regret the time that has been devoted to the close examination of every collection of sacred poetry within our reach, and we leave the subject with a more settled conviction of the world's indebtedness to the muse of Methodism,—a deeper feeling of gratitude to that God who touched the lips of Charles Wesley with fire, that shall kindle the incense of praise, on living altars, until, in his own language, the saints shall

“ See this universe renew'd,—
The grand millennial reign begun ;
And sing with all the sons of God
Around th' eternal throne !”

F.

Danbury, December, 1843.

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- ART. II.—1. *Essays on the Church of God.* By JOHN M. MASON, D. D. Edited by the Rev. EBENEZER MASON. New-York: Robert Carter. 1843.
2. *A Treatise on the Church of Christ: Designed chiefly for the Use of Students in Theology.* By the Rev. WILLIAM PALMER, M. A., of Worcester College, Oxford. With a Preface and Notes. By the Rt. Rev. W. R. WHITTINGHAM, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Maryland. In two volumes. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1841.
3. *The Book of the Church.* By RICHARD FIELD, D. D., some time Dean of Gloucester. A new edition, with additional Notes and References, by the Rev. J. S. BREWER, M. A. Vol. 1. London: John Baker. 1843.

MR. WESLEY says, “A more ambiguous word than this, *the Church*, is scarce to be found in the English language.” The reason for this is, that it is variously used in the Scriptures, and by ecclesiastical writers its application has been still further diversified. Dr. Mason says,—

“The word ‘church,’ derived from the Greek *κυριακόν*, signifies ‘the house of the Lord;’ and marks the *property* which he has in it. But the original words which it is employed to translate, signify a different thing. The Hebrew words *קהל* (*cahal*) and *עדה* (*gheda*) in the Old Testament; and the corresponding one *ἐκκλησία* (*ecclesia*) in the New, all signify *an assembly*, especially one convened by invita-

tion or appointment. That this is their generic sense, no scholar will deny; nor that their particular applications are ultimately resolvable into it. Hence it is evident, that from the terms themselves nothing can be concluded as to the nature or extent of the assembly which they denote. Whenever either of the two former occurs in the Old Testament, or the other in the New, you are sure of an *assembly*, but of nothing *more*. What that assembly is, and whom it comprehends, you must learn from the *connection* of the term, and the *subject* of the writer."—Pp. 3, 4.

The learned author gives us the New Testament use of the word *church*, as follows:—

"In like manner *ἐκκλησία*, (*ecclesia*), rendered 'church,' is applied to the *whole body* of the redeemed. Ephes. v, 24, 27. To the *whole body* of professing Christians. 1 Cor. xii, 28. To *local* organizations of professing Christians, whether more or less extensive; as in the apostolic salutations, and inscriptions of the epistles. To a *small association* of Christians meeting together in a private house. Col. iv, 15; Phil. i, 2. To a civil assembly *lawfully* convened. Acts xix, 39. To a body of people *irregularly* convened. Acts xix, 32."—Pp. 4, 5.

He then proceeds "to prove that the Scriptures teach the doctrine of a *visible church catholic*, composed of all those throughout the world who profess the true religion."

Dr. Field says,—

"Concerning the church, five things are to be observed. First, what is the definition of it, and who pertain unto it. Secondly, the notes whereby it may be known. Thirdly, which is the true church demonstrated by these notes. Fourthly, the privileges that do pertain unto it. Fifthly, the divers degrees, orders, and callings of those men to whom the government of the church is committed.

"Touching the first, the church is the multitude and number of those whom almighty God severeth from the rest of the world by the work of his grace, and calleth to the participation of eternal happiness, by the knowledge of such supernatural verities as concerning their everlasting good he hath revealed in Christ his Son, and such other precious and happy means as he hath appointed to further and set forward the work of their salvation. So that it is the work of grace, and the heavenly call, that give being to the church, and make it a different society from all other companies of men in the world, that have no other light of knowledge, nor motion of desire, but that which is natural; whence, for distinction from them, it is named *ecclesia*, a multitude called out."—P. 32.

In order to a clear understanding of the several passages of Scripture which speak of "the church," and the interest we as individuals have in them, several distinctions must be made. Writers upon this subject have generally divided the church into

visible and *invisible*. But so much has been said upon this distinction calculated to darken the subject, and bewilder the honest inquirer, that we shall discuss it somewhat particularly.

By reference to the passages referred to by Dr. Mason, it will be seen that in the New Testament the word church is sometimes used in a more, and in others in a less restricted sense. Attributes and associations are sometimes appropriated to the church which necessarily confine its application to *true believers*, and in other instances it will admit of a general application to the society of professing Christians. The same may be said of the use made of the term by the ancient Christian writers. But the particular form of the distinction now under consideration was devised by the reformers. Luther denied that the Romish Church was the true church of Christ. The Romish doctors then demanded, where was the true church before the Reformation? To this he answered, that it was *invisible*. By this he meant that the true church, during the reign of superstition and corruption which he was laboring to reform, had been confined to those Christians who had "worshiped God in spirit and in truth," but had been under the necessity, from the pressure of circumstances, of seeking retirement; as in the days of Elijah, amidst the general prevalence of corruption, there were "seven thousand" true servants of God, who were not even known to the prophet.

From this time the *visible church* was, by Protestants, understood to embrace *nominal Christians*, and the *invisible church* all *real Christians*. And although some have found grave fault with this distinction, yet there are few writers, either Protestant or Romish, that are worthy of notice, who do not admit the thing intended: that is, they all admit the difference between the nominal and the real church of Christ. Dr. Field presents the subject thus:—

"By that which hath been said, that none but the elect are of the church in that principal and high degree before mentioned, we may easily understand their true meaning, and the truth of their meaning, who say that hypocrites, wicked men, and castaways are in, but not of the church. 'Puto,' saith Augustine, 'me non temere dicere alios sic esse in domo Dei, ut ipsi etiam sint domus Dei;—alios autem ita dici esse in domo [Dei] ut non pertineant ad compagem domus, nec ad societatem fructiferæ pacificæque justitiæ.' 'I think I may very advisedly and considerately say, some are in such sort in the house of God, that they also are the house of God; and that some are so in the house of God, that they pertain not to the frame and fabric of it, nor to the society and fellowship of fruitful and peaceable righteousness.'

"Of them that are in the church there are three sorts. For there

are some only *numero*, some *numero et merito*, some *numero, merito et electione*: that is, there are some that only in external profession; some that in profession and affection; and some that in profession and affection with never-altering resolution, join themselves to the company of the believers, and have their hearts knit unto God for ever; as the elect of God called according to his purpose. These are *intrinsecus et in occulto intus*, as Augustine speaketh; and whosoever are thus in the church, are most fully of the church, and are of the special number of them that communicate in the most precious effects and most happy benefits of effectual and saving grace. In the two former sorts many are in the church, which though they be also of the church, in that they have fellowship in some outward things with the elect and chosen servants of God, yet principally, fully, and absolutely are not of it, nor of that special number of those that have part in the benefits of effectual and saving grace."—Pp. 41, 42.

But a still further analysis is necessary to a full understanding of the subject. We would divide the bodies of professing Christians into two classes, namely, into those whose faith and practice entitle them to be considered, in the judgment of charity, as true Christians, and those who hold obvious heresies, or are irregular in their lives: the latter may be regarded as *false*, and the former as *true* churches. The true churches, or those communities of professing Christians whose doctrines are orthodox and evangelical, and who exercise a godly discipline, constitute, in the aggregate, or in their collective capacity, *the visible church catholic*. It is to this body the reformers refer in the nineteenth article of the Church of England, where they say, "The visible church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly administered in all things that of necessity are requisite to the same." "Faithful men" here must imply something more than mere professors of Christianity. As Mr. Wesley well observes, "At the same time our Thirty-nine Articles were compiled and published, a Latin translation of them was published by the same authority. In this the words were '*Cætus credentium*,' a congregation of believers; plainly showing that by *faithful men*, the compilers meant, men endued with living faith."*

The *visible church of Christ*, then, is made up of such congregations of Christians as receive the system of divine truth set forth in Holy Scripture, and, as far as human wisdom can determine, bring forth the fruits of a living faith. Let it be carefully observed, however, that we do not go upon the supposition that all who, in the judgment of charity, may be presumed to be true Christians,

* Sermon of the Church—*Works*, vol. ii, p. 157.

are really such. We cannot fathom the depths of the human heart, nor are our decisions in relation to external developments infallible. The garb of hypocrisy may long cover a corrupt heart, and our most honest judgments may be prejudiced. And as to all those who attach themselves to a Christian church, whose profession of faith and course of life harmonize with the great moral precepts of the gospel, we are bound by the laws of Christian charity to presume they are genuine Christians.

In the purest church there doubtless are those who are not sound at heart. With their hearts we have nothing whatever to do until their corruptions break out into irregularities, in the form of heresy or irreligion. It is to those whose lives furnish no just cause for disciplinary proceedings, but who are still inwardly corrupt, that we suppose our Saviour to refer in the parable of the wheat and the tares, and of the net cast into the sea. By "the tares," which "at the end of the world" are to be "gathered and bound in bundles and cast into the fire," and by "the bad," which are to be "cast away," we suppose such false-hearted Christians, as are able to elude all wholesome discipline in the church to the last, are to be understood. This may be inferred from the fact that rules of discipline are expressly instituted for the separation from the church of all manifest heretics and evil livers; but in this case we are forbidden to make the separation. "Let both grow together till the harvest." It is consequently a manifest error, and in its practical effects destructive of the purity of the church, to interpret these passages, as Mr. Palmer does, so as to justify the continuance in the church of "manifest sinners."

Upon these explanations should be founded the principles of intercommunion among the different churches. Those churches whose faith and discipline, in all essential points, harmonize with the acknowledged rule of faith and practice, should be acknowledged members of the visible church catholic, and should enjoy the privileges of communion and fraternal correspondence with all other branches of the universal church; while, upon the other hand, those communions who have departed in essentials from the faith of the gospel and the purity of Christian discipline should be treated as heretics and heathen—as constituting no part of the catholic church of Christ. By this we do not mean that they should be treated with intolerance or undue severity. Even a heathen community should be treated with kindness, and addressed as reasonable beings. Nor must it be inferred that we suppose all the individuals who belong to false or antichristian churches are necessarily sinners and in the way to hell. There may be a

strong minority in several corrupt communions, who belong to the mystical body of Christ, and who are entitled to our strongest Christian sympathies. It would doubtless be their duty, had they the light upon the subject, to leave their corrupt communion and connect themselves with some evangelical church, and such a course would contribute much to their spiritual comfort and improvement. But the prejudices of education, or a want of the proper means of information, may prevent this ; and so they may work their way, in spite of the bad influences around them, to the place of the blessed. But there being several, or many, good men in this or that corrupt communion, is no reason why we should acknowledge such communion, as a whole, to be a part of the church catholic.

If the doctrinal standards of a church are heretical—if its governing powers are corrupt—and if its very forms of worship are idolatrous and antichristian, what claim can such a church have to be recognized as a part of the visible church catholic ? The good men in such a church are able to reform nothing, and they do not give character to the institution. They are to be sought after, and mourned over, as sheep out of the true fold, having no shepherd. But we can have no fellowship with their ungodly communion—for we must neither touch nor handle the unclean thing.

We shall not in this place give any specimens of false churches ; but after having laid down the great principles to be applied as tests, shall, for the present at least, leave our readers to work out for themselves the problem as to which are the sound branches of the catholic church. Further light will, however, be reflected upon the subject as we proceed in this investigation.

Mr. Palmer and Dr. Mason both argue strongly for the *visibleness* of the church, and the former, we think, beats the air through his whole argument—endeavoring to refute a theory that none maintain, and to answer objections which are never seriously urged. None maintain, as far as we know, that the militant church is *in all respects invisible*, like the church of the first-born in heaven ; nor that the real church, which is the body of Christ, “has apostatized.” Christians “are the light of the world,” and consequently cannot be wholly hid from human view. But what has been asserted, is, *first*, that during the prevalence of the great Roman apostasy, the true church of Christ was in retirement and comparatively out of view. And *secondly*, that the lines which separate between the real disciples of Christ and those who are only so in profession are not always discernible. The following are the views of Dean Field upon this point :—

"If a man shall further urge that Luther, and some other that were in the beginning of the reformation of the church, did think the church to be sometimes invisible, not only in those respects above specified, but even in the truth of profession, and practice of those things that to salvation are necessary, we deny that any such thing can be collected out of any of their writings which they have left unto posterity. For how should there be a church in the world, the perpetuity whereof they almost constantly defend, and none found to profess the saving truth of God, which all are bound to do that look for salvation? But this surely both they and we do teach, that though always the open, known, and constant profession of saving truth, be preserved and found among men, and the ministry of salvation continued and known in the world; (for how should there be a church gathered without a ministry?) that yet sometimes errors and heresies so much prevail, that the most part, not only of them that are apparently without, but even of them also that hold and possess great places of office and dignity in the church of God, either for fear, flattery, hope of gain, or honor, or else misled through simplicity, or directly falling into error or heresy, depart from the soundness of Christian faith, so that the sincerity of religion is upholden, and the truth of the profession of Christians defended and maintained but only by some few, and they molested, persecuted, and traduced, as turbulent and seditious men, enemies to the common peace of the Christian world. In this sense then the church is said to be sometimes invisible, not because there are none seen, known, or found that possess the truth of God; but because even in that company which is the true church of God, many, and those the greatest, are carried into error, so that but some few, and they such as (if we should judge by outward appearance) are most unlike to uphold and maintain the truth, are left to defend the same; multitude, authority, reputation and opinion of greatness in others, obscuring them in such sort, that they which measure things by outward appearance can possibly take no notice of them. This was the state of the Christian world in the time of Athanasius, when in the Council of Seleucia and Ariminum the Nicene faith was condemned; and all the bishops of the whole world (carried away with the sway of time) fell from the soundness of the faith, only Athanasius excepted, and some few confessors that *sub Athanasii nomine exulabant*, as Hierome noteth, writing against the Luciferians; 'Ingemuit totus orbis, et miratus est se factum esse Arrianum,' 'the world poureth forth sighs, marveling how it was become an Arian.'"—Pp. 44-46.

It is observable that Mr. Palmer, after battling severely with what he seems to suppose the view of the reformers upon this point, comes round and admits all that they ever contended for. He says,—

"It is true, indeed, that the sanctified and elect are principally and essentially the church of Christ; but besides them are many sinners and hypocrites who belong to the church, though only externally, temporarily, and imperfectly."—Vol. i, p. 58.

Again he says,—

“While, therefore, we admit that those who are essentially members of the church are not discernible *as such* from hypocritical professors or false brethren, and are therefore in one sense *invisible*; we maintain that they always openly profess Christ, and are therefore always and essentially visible.”—Vol. i, p. 59.

The great importance of the distinction for which we contend, arises from the necessity of a right application of the promises of Christ to the church, and the privileges bequeathed to her. Upon this point Churchmen are generally misty. They represent the church as composed of persons who have certain external qualifications—such, for instance, as have been baptized—and then, the church thus constituted, composed of “the sanctified and elect,” together with “sinners and hypocrites,” is “the body of Christ,” his “spouse,” “the pillar and ground of the truth,” &c. Thus Mr. Palmer:—

“The Scriptures and the universal church appoint only one mode in which Christians are to be made members of the church. It is baptism which renders us, by divine right, members of the church, and entitles us to all the privileges of the faithful: ‘For as many of you who have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.’ ‘Ye are all one in Christ Jesus.’ Gal. iii, 27, 28.”—Vol. i, p. 144.

This is a fair specimen of Church teaching upon this subject. And the great objection we have to it is, that it fosters, in those who hold a mere outward relation to the church, the erroneous notion, that in virtue of that relation they are “one with Christ,” and are of course heirs of all his promises. We will here give several authorities to show that the fathers and defenders of the English Church entertained no such notions of the virtue of an external relation to the church as are now propagated by high-Churchmen.

Archbishop Cranmer says,—“This holy church is so unknown to the world, that no man can discern it, but God alone, who only searcheth the hearts of all men, and knoweth his true children from others that be but bastards. This church is the pillar of the truth, because it resteth upon God’s word, which is the true and sure foundation, and will not suffer it to err and fall. But as for the open known church, and the outward face thereof, it is not the pillar of truth, otherwise than it is, as it were, a register or treasury to keep the books of God’s holy will and testament, and to rest only thereupon. For if the church proceed further, to make any new articles of faith, besides the Scripture, or contrary to the Scripture, or direct not the form of life according to the same, then it is not

the pillar of truth, nor the church of Christ, but the synagogue of Satan, and the temple of antichrist, which both erreth itself, and bringeth into error as many as do follow it.”*

Again: “For there be two manner of churches; one true, perfect, and holy in the sight of God; and another, false, imperfect, and ungodly. Truth it is, that the true church of God, being grounded and set upon his holy word, (I mean the gospel of grace,) cannot err unto damnation. But the other, how shining and glorious soever it appear, if it wander abroad, and be not contained within the compass and limits of the word written, is no true, but a feigned and forged church. That church as it is without the compass of God’s promises made in truth, not only may, but also doth commonly, yea, continually, err and go astray; for they are not coupled to the head Christ, which is the life, the way, and the truth. Paul, the apostle of God and elect vessel of salvation, writing to the Galatians, hath these words: ‘If we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you, than we have preached, hold him accursed.’ And yet the Papists, not fearing the curse of God, dare be bold to teach things which Paul never knew, yea, things clean contrary to his evident and manifest teaching. Such gross ignorance (I would to God it were but ignorance indeed) is entered into their heads, and such arrogant boldness passeth their hearts, that they are bold to affirm no church to be the true church of God but that which standeth by ordinary succession of bishops, in such pomp and glorious sort as now is seen.”†

Hooker says,—“That church of Christ, which we properly term his body mystical, can be but one; neither can that one be sensibly discerned by any man, inasmuch as the parts thereof are some in heaven already with Christ, and the rest that are on earth, (albeit their natural persons be visible,) we do not discern under this property whereby they are truly and infallibly of that body. Only our minds by intellectual conceit are able to apprehend that such a body there is, a body collective, because it containeth a large multitude; a body mystical, because the mystery of their conjunction is removed altogether from sense. Whatever we read in Scripture concerning the endless love and saving mercy which God showeth toward his church, the only proper subject thereof is this church. Even so on the other side when we read of any duty which the church of God is bound unto, the church whom this doth concern is a sensibly known company.”‡

* See Cranmer’s Works, Oxford edition, vol. iii, pp. 18, 19, 20.

† Works, vol. iv, pp. 154, 155.

‡ Eccl. Polity, vol. i, pp. 285, 286. Oxford edition.

The reader will remark this radical difference between the views presented by these great writers and our modern high-Churchmen. The former apply the promises wholly to the *invisible*, and the latter to the *visible* church. This places them as distant from each other as the poles. High-Churchmen urge that we are under obligation to attach ourselves to *their* church, for the promises of God were given to *the* church: that there could never have been a general apostasy of the visible church, for God has promised that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it:" that the succession must have been preserved in the church, for God promised to be with her ministers "always, even to the end of the world," &c. Now all this is wholly nugatory upon the theory of Archbishop Cranmer and "the judicious Hooker." For though these promises have never failed the real or invisible church of Christ, yet they may have failed the visible church—or rather, they were never given to her. Even some Romish writers have advanced the same views, and wholly abandoned the ground generally taken by Romanists, that if the Romish Church has apostatized, the promise of God has failed.*

But Churchmen and Romanists, generally holding that the promises are made to the visible church, and that the visible church is a united corporate body, and claiming that their church is that body, find it necessary to set up a justification of that claim. Mr. Palmer tells us there can be but one church in the same place, and of course if there are several Christian communions in the same place, all save one are false churches. All Catholics, both Roman and Anglican, tell us there can be but one catholic church, and that church must be in visible unity with itself. These views necessarily impose upon those who maintain them the burden of showing the signs or attributes of the true visible church, so that men may be able to distinguish between the true church, or true branches of the visible church catholic, and "the denominations" or spurious churches. We will now attend to the rules by which we are instructed to make up our judgment in the case. Says Mr. Palmer:—

* *Ferus*, upon Matt. xvi, 18, 19, says,—“Christ speaks not here of the church as it is commonly understood of the collection of all Christians, whether good or bad, but of the church according to the Spirit, which comprehends only the elect.”* And *Lupus* affirms that “the church which received the keys, is not the universal communion of the faithful in the lawful sacraments, but the sole congregation of the just, or communion of saints.”†

* *Fer.* in Matt.

† *Lup.* in Concil, tom. iv, p. 618.

"The precepts of Christian prudence require that we should take the *briefest* course consistent with a security of arriving at a sound conclusion in a practical question of such vital importance. 'The time is short' to run the race of Christianity, even when we have entered on it; how necessary is it then that we should endeavor to find speedily, as well as certainly, the arena in which it is to be run. It is with such views that theologians in various ages have endeavored to lay down rules for the discrimination of Christ's church, by a comparatively short and intelligible process; and these rules are styled *notes* or *signs* of the church. By notes of the church are meant some of its more prominent attributes, which may be ascertained and applied to all existing communities of professing Christians, without any very lengthened discussion of obscure and difficult points."—Vol. i, pp. 45, 46.

Dr. Field thus lays down "the nature" of these "*notes*:"—

"Perpetually and absolutely that is proper to a thing, which is inseparable and incommunicable, as never being not found in that to which it is proper, nor ever being found in anything else. Those things which are thus and in this sort proper to a thing, either are of the essence of that to which they are proper, or that is of the essence of them: by both these, a thing may be known from all other whatsoever, but more specially by them that are of the essence of that which we desire to know. These things, thus generally observed touching the nature of the notes of difference, whereby one thing may be discerned and known from another, if we apply particularly to the church, we shall easily know which are the true, certain, and infallible notes thereof, about which our adversaries so tediously contend and jangle, delivering them confusedly without order, and doubtfully without all certainty."—P. 87.

Here we have the general principles upon which the notes of the church must be drawn out. *First*, they must be *plain*, so as to be easily understood. *Secondly*, they must be "inseparable" from the church—always found where the church is. *Thirdly*, they must be "incommunicable"—never found in any community except the church. So far our authors go on with confidence. But they stop short of their main point, and that is, that these notes should be proved, by some legitimate authority, to belong to the church—to constitute its "essence." If this point is merely assumed without evidence, the whole superstructure falls to the ground.

This plan of finding the church by certain infallible signs has been adopted by both Romanists and Churchmen; and, indeed, by the continental reformers. And there can be no objection to the general principles of the plan, provided a legitimate course of investigation be pursued in its carrying out. But at this point Romanists and high-Churchmen have failed. Easy as Mr. Palmer would

have us think this plan of finding out the true church is, neither Romanists nor Churchmen have ever been able to settle the great essential principles of the plan itself. In the first place, they do not agree as to what constitutes "the notes of the church;" and in the next place they are equally at variance as to what is the legitimate proof of these notes—whether they are to be settled by Scripture, or Scripture and antiquity, or by mere reason independent of both, "the catholic doctors" have not been able to determine.

Now let us inquire, in the first place, into the opinions of the doctors as to what these notes are. And *first* we will see what the Romish writers say. These writers do not agree as to the *number* of the notes of the church, and of course they differ as to what they are. *Valentia* reckons four of these notes, *Driedo* six, *Medina* ten, *Sanders* and *Pistorius* twelve, *Bellarmino* fifteen, and *Bossius* one hundred! And each of these high authorities supposes his catalogue perfect, without deficiency or excess. Of course the whole catalogue, taken together, constitutes the evidence of the church. As Cardinal *Richlieu* says, "It is to be observed that although it does not follow that society which hath one of these notes of the church is the true church; yet it follows, that society which wants one of these notes is not the true church."* And *Valentia*, "These are the notes which we urge, one, holy, catholic, apostolic. These are not the notes of the church singly, but conjunctly; because may be that one or two of them may agree to others."†

The Romish doctors are equally at variance as to the authority by which these notes are to be settled; one class holding it is only "by the light of reason" that we are to determine them, and the other, that they are "marked out and taught in the Scripture." Of the former class are *Canus*, *Bannes*, *Suarez*, *Duvall*, *Conink*, *Arriaga*, *Usambertus*, *Gillius*, *Amicus*, and *Rhodium*. Of the latter class are *Driedo*, the Popish disputants in the conference of Ratisbon, and Cardinal *Richlieu*.

It will of course not be expected that this class of theologians would agree any better when they come to tell us who constitute the church. The leading opinions upon this point may be divided into three classes. The first teaches "that the church is made up of all persons baptized and outwardly professing the true faith, and adhering to the pope of Rome, whether they be truly faithful, or secretly infidels." The second, "to external profession," requires "internal faith, at least in form," and thus excludes all secret

* Meth., liv. 1. chap. 8.

† Anal. Fid., lib. 6, cap. 7.

infidels and heretics. And the third requires "charity to be added to these two," and thus leave no place in the church but for those who are "truly just and free from mortal sin." The first opinion is defended by *Canus*, *Bellarmino*, *Duvall*, and almost all the later French writers. The *second* is taught by *Launoy*, *Alensis*, *Clemangis*, *Turrecremata*, and *Jacobatius*. The third by *Bannes*, *Hugo á Sancto Victore*, *Antoninus* of Florence, *Cusanus*, *Dionysius Carthusianus*, *J. Fr. Picus*, *Mirandula*, *Ferus*, and *Lupus*. We have before us the authorities here adduced, but cannot occupy the space to give the language used. We would just notice, however, that several of the authors under the second head have gone so far as to assert "that the church may be reduced to one only woman, as it actually was at the time of our Saviour's passion—all the apostles being fallen from the faith, the same continued in the blessed Virgin alone."*

Our readers will doubtless now conclude that the true church is not so easily ascertained, either by the help of notes or otherwise, if they must go to the Romish doctors for direction; that after all the croaking about the holy Catholic Church—her being an infallible guide in controversies, never erring and the like—her learned doctors are not able to agree as to what are her essential attributes, and how they are to be ascertained. No wonder Dean Field sarcastically alludes to this state of things when laying down his principles upon the notes of the church, "about which," says he, "our adversaries so tediously contend and jangle."

But do Churchmen come any nearer to an agreement upon these matters than Romanists? They do not. This we shall now proceed to show. It was well for Mr. Palmer to guard himself by asserting that he is "not obliged to follow, implicitly, the judgment of particular theologians in ancient and modern times, in selecting notes of the church." But what obligations his readers can be under "to follow" him "implicitly," especially when he differs so materially from the most respectable "theologians" of his own church, and even, as we shall presently see, from the Homilies of that church, is for them well to consider.

Mr. Palmer, following Valentia, or, as he says, "the Constantinopolitan creed," makes the notes of the church to be the following four,—“one, holy, catholic, and apostolic.” Of course it might be expected that all good Churchmen would agree in these notes. But Mr. Palmer himself tells us that

* See Placette's *Incurable Skepticism of the Church of Rome*, chap. xxiv, and Field on the Church, p. 49.

"Dr. *Field* admits truth of doctrine ; use of sacraments and means instituted by Christ ; union under lawful ministers ; antiquity without change of doctrine ; lawful succession, that is, with true doctrine ; and universality in the *successive* sense, that is, the prevalence of the church successively in all nations." And, "Bishop *Taylor* admits as notes of the church, antiquity, duration, succession of bishops, union of members among themselves and with Christ, sanctity of doctrine," &c.—Vol. i, pp. 47, 48.

Now here is a considerable diversity at the outset.

We will give a few more of the many varieties of opinion upon the notes of the church, which may be found in the best church authorities. Dr. *Sherlock* says,—“To begin with the Protestant way of finding out the church by the essential properties of a true church ; such as the profession of the true Christian faith, and the Christian sacraments rightly and duly administered, according to the institutions of our Saviour, and the apostolical practice. This is essential to a true church ; for there can be no true Christian church without the true faith, and Christian sacraments, which cannot be rightly administered but by church officers rightly and truly ordained. The regular exercise of discipline is not necessary to the being of the church, but to the purity and good government of it.”*

Dr. *Freeman* says,—“That the sincere preaching of the faith or doctrine of Christ, as it is laid down in the Scriptures, is the only sure, infallible mark of the church of Christ, is a truth so clear in itself, so often and fully proved by learned men of the Reformation, that it may justly seem a wonder, that any church, which is not conscious to herself of any errors and deviations from it, should refuse to put herself upon that trial.”†

And Dr. *Payne* says,—“We desire nothing more than to find out the *true church* by the *true faith*, and we think this is the true way to find it out ; for Christian faith is prior to the Christian church ; and that must be first known and supposed, before we can know any such thing as a church ; for it is the faith makes the church, and not the church the faith ; and therefore the church is to be known by the true doctrine, and not the true doctrine by the church, as some folks say.”‡

We shall give one more reference. It may be found in the Homilies of the Church of England ; and these Homilies are recognized in the thirty-fifth article of the church, as containing “godly

* See Cardinal Bellarmine's *Notes of the Church, examined and refuted in a Series of Tracts*, pp. 3, 4.

† *Ibid.*, p. 69.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 150, 151.

and wholesome doctrine." Here it is said, "The true church is an universal congregation or fellowship of God's faithful and elect people, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the head corner-stone. And it hath always three *notes* or *marks* whereby it is known: pure and sound doctrine, the sacraments ministered according to Christ's holy institution, and the right use of ecclesiastical discipline. This description of the church is agreeable both to the Scriptures of God, and also to the doctrine of the ancient fathers, so that none may justly find fault therewith."*

Here we have the sense of the English reformers, as it still remains in the authorized standards of the English Church. How much it differs from the statements which go before we need not suggest: let the reader compare them, and he will see. Upon such a comparison it will appear, that the notes of the church drawn up by Mr. Palmer, or rather which he has adopted from a certain "creed," and which are held by him in common with several Romish writers, are wholly different from those of the homily, he having *rejected every one of those drawn up by the reformers and adopted by his own church*. It would seem that the church has become a different thing from what it was in the days of Cranmer, and Field, and Taylor; or, to speak more properly, Church of England divines have changed their views of the real nature of the church. This whole difference may be explained by simply adverting to one fact. Once the English divines considered the Church of Rome an apostate church—antichrist—the man of sin—and the reformed churches of the continent, though under Presbyterian government, true churches of Christ, and consequently true branches of the catholic church. But now the prevailing doctrine is, that the Church of Rome is a true church of Christ, and all communions everywhere destitute of "the apostolic succession of bishops" are mere "denominations"—not churches of Christ, and of course constitute no part of the catholic church. This is Mr. Palmer's theory; and hence he could not adopt the *notes* of the homily, which would apply to all orthodox Protestant communions, but he must adopt a set of *notes* which will cut them off and embrace *Rome*. But we cannot now pursue this point. What we are laboring to show, is the utter disagreement and confusion which prevail among church authorities upon the subject: and the impossibility of finding the true church by the aid of the *notes* they give us. We are loath to think that Mr. Palmer will be considered, by Churchmen generally, better authority than many of the most

* Homily on Whitsunday.

learned church bishops, or even the Homilies of the church. Even with the sanction of Bp. Whittingham, we can scarcely see how the "Treatise on the Church" should become the standard of Churchmen, and compel everything that has preceded it, even the most ancient formularies, to bend to its dogmas. But they must allow this, and concede that the British reformers, and many of the most venerable names which are found in the catalogue of English bishops, have been sadly led astray upon the true nature of the church, and have even taught gross heresy upon the subject, before they can follow Mr. Palmer. His method of finding out the church, it must be borne in mind, Mr. Palmer represents as perfectly plain and easy. His *notes* constitute a labor-saving expedient—they shed such light upon the path of the inquirer, that though a fool, he need not err. And yet at the very outset we have to set aside the highest church authorities before we can safely listen to him at all. This we must do either by presuming or proving them false. A dutiful son of the church will scarcely do the first, and it would be a work which would require the talents of Mr. Palmer and Bishop Whittingham united to do the second. Such are a few of the difficulties in the way in a search for the true church of Christ, under the direction of our learned church guides.

Now let us take up some of these notes, and try "the church" by them, and see whether she will abide the test. Bishop Taylor makes "union of members among themselves" a note of the church. Does this note apply to the Church of England, or to the Protestant Episcopal Church? These communions have long boasted of their *unity* and *concord*, but what is their present condition? They are now involved in a controversy among themselves upon radical points of Christian doctrine, and the parties mutually charge each other with having embraced "another gospel." The Protestant party charge their antagonists with Romish heresies, and the British Critic, the very *beau ideal* of high-Churchism, declares that if the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith were to be exchanged for heathenism, it would be an improvement! Occurrences connected with a recent ordination in this city, to say nothing of other indications, prove that the conflict is as hot in this country, and the division between the two parties as wide, as on the other side of the water. Where, then, is that "union of members among themselves," which the good bishop makes a note of the church?

Again, in the homily above quoted, "the right use of ecclesiastical discipline" is made a note of the church. Now where is the

"ecclesiastical discipline" of the English Church? The keys of discipline are given, or rather *sold* to the state. We will now give the proof. In the "Commination," it is said, that "in the primitive church there was a godly discipline, that at the beginning of Lent, such persons as stood convicted of notorious sins were put to open penance," &c. "Instead whereof, (until the said discipline may be restored again, which is much to be wished,) it is thought good," &c. Here it is distinctly confessed that the "godly discipline" of "the primitive church" is entirely lost in the English Church, and provision is made for a confession, and prayer for its restoration, in the beginning of Lent, *once a year*. The following strong statements are from the best church authorities:—

"It ought surely to be taken into consideration, whether those who are intrusted on behalf of the church, do enough toward the discharge of a good conscience, in wishing once a year, at reading the office on Ash-Wednesday, that the discipline of the church was restored. Or whether it lie not upon them to do something toward regaining it, that the church may be restored to the power it hath from Christ, &c. If any, when this comes to be considered, can content themselves only to wish the discipline restored, without moving either hand or foot toward it; they are such as either understand not the usefulness of the discipline of the church to Christian purposes, or make no conscience of discharging a duty to God in the execution of its ministry, to serve those ends. I say this, because an honest conscience can never satisfy itself, that wishing the ministry of the church to take place, and have the effect it ought to have, is the same with doing that which may restore and render it effectual. Wishes are indeed marks of a good intention, and an acceptable zeal, where no more is possible to be done; but ever to wish and make no attempt toward the thing wished for, if it be zeal, is such as is a reproach to itself."*

"The restoring of the ancient discipline is earnestly desired by the Church of England in her Office of *Commination*; the performance of which pious wish, or the endeavoring it at least, is a duty incumbent on our governors, to whom with all due respect we ought to leave it. But, with due submission be it spoken, methinks it looks too much like dissembling with God, and imposing on the people, to have this passage stand in our public Liturgy, and read solemnly in our congregations once a year, and that too upon one of the greatest fasts in our church, when people are, or ought to be, most serious; and yet no attempt made toward the

* Church of England's Wish, (1703,) pp. 4, 5. See the book throughout; written by a very honest and zealous Churchman.

restoring of this godly and much wished for, but still neglected discipline. A matter well worthy the consideration of both the houses of convocation; in the zealous promoting whereof, it is heartily wished all their little differences might be swallowed up, and finally buried.”*

“The Church of England has for two hundred years wished for the restoration of discipline, and yet it is but an ineffective wish. For nothing is done toward introducing it, but rather things are gone backward, and there is less discipline for these last sixty years, since the times of the unhappy confusions, than there was before.”†

Upon this subject a bishop of the Church of England writes as follows:—

“My last particular, which remains yet to be handled, is that of the authority of bishops to govern as well as to ordain. And in the first place, who can but wonder to see men so zealous in assuming to themselves the sole power of ordination, so much neglect, and even wholly abandon the power of the keys, that of excommunication, so high and so dreadful; which, though by great abuse in latter times is made very contemptible, yet in the original institution and primitive practice was very terrible.—As his heavenly Father sent him with this power, so sent he his apostles with this power, saying unto them, ‘Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained:’ wherefore if there be anything in the office of a bishop to be stood upon and challenged peculiar to themselves, certainly it should be this; yet this is in a manner quite relinquished unto their chancelors, laymen, who have no more capacity to sentence or absolve a sinner, than to dissolve the heavens and earth, and make a new heaven and a new earth, and this pretended power of chancelors is sometimes purchased with a sum of money, their money perish with them. Good God! what a horrible abuse is this of the divine authority!—And by this his authority the chancellor takes upon him to sentence not only laymen, but clergymen also brought into his court for any delinquency, and in the court of the arches there they sentence even bishops themselves. This is a common practice in later ages, but in St. Ambrose’s time so great a wonder, as with amazement crieth out against the emperor Valentinian, when he took upon him to judge in such cases, saying, ‘When was it ever heard of since the beginning of the world, that laymen should judge of spirituals.’—’Tis too true, and I remember when the bishop

* Ellesby’s *Caution against Ill Company*, (1705,) Pref., pp. 2, 3.

† Bingham’s *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, book xv, chap. ix., sec. 8.

of Wells, hearing of a cause corruptly managed, and coming into the court to rectify it, the chancellor, Dr. Duke, fairly and mannerly bid him be gone, for he had no power there to act anything, and therewithal pulls out his patent sealed by the bishop's predecessor, which, like Perseus's shield with the Gorgon's head, frightened the poor bishop out of the court."*

The famous "Test Act" (1762, 25^o Charles II. 2.) required that all persons filling places of honor or profit should "receive the eucharist according to the rites of the Church of England."† The practical operation of this law is set in a strong but true light by *Towgood*. He says,—

"Are not some of the most profane and abandoned of men, rakes, debauchees, blasphemers of God, and scoffers at all religion, often seen upon their knees around your communion table, eating the children's bread, and partaking of the holy elements to qualify for a post? Dare your ministers refuse them? No, they dare not refuse the most impious blasphemer the three kingdoms afford, when he comes to demand it as a qualification for an office in the army or fleet.

"And if in any other case the priest denies the sacrament to the most infamous sinner dwelling in his parish, if the man, upon an appeal to the ecclesiastical court, can secure the favor of the lay-chancellor, he may securely defy both the minister and the bishop to keep him from the Lord's table. The chancellor's determination shall stand in law, though contrary to the bishops; and the minister be liable to a suspension for refusing compliance; and if he is contumacious, and will not give the man the sacrament, even to excommunication itself."‡

The last witness upon this subject we shall here present is now living. Bishop Short, after speaking of the influence of the union of

* *The Naked Truth, &c.*, by Bishop Croft. See Collection of scarce and valuable Tracts on the most interesting and entertaining Subjects, pp. 381-383.

† See Bishop Short's *History of the Church of England*, sec. 720. In 1828 the "Test Act" was repealed, and thus one of the great stumbling blocks was removed. This act, which had borne heavily upon the Roman Catholics, and excluded them, with a great mass of dissenters, from the emoluments and honors of all offices under the government, had for more than a century been the means of corrupting and degrading the holy eucharist to the character of a mere civil institution—a mere qualification for civil office, which the greatest infidel in the kingdom had a right to demand. We could wish that the repeal of the "Test and Corporation Acts" had been followed by the removal of other occasions of offence of equal magnitude, which we are sorry to say still remain.

‡ *A Dissent from the Church of England fully justified*, p. 32.

church and state upon the condition of the church, says,—“It has put a stop in a great measure to the exercise of discipline over the members of the church itself; and while we trust that the Establishment contains perhaps [?] as large a number of the real servants of God as any other body of men of the same size, we cannot but deplore that there are many offending members in it, for the correction and cutting off of whom no steps are, or perhaps can be taken.”*

Does the reader want further evidence that the Church of England is wholly wanting in “the right use of ecclesiastical discipline,” which in the homily is made a note of the church? If more were wanting, the materials are ample, but we doubt not every true friend of religion who has followed us has already been sufficiently pained with the facts and testimony presented. We will then add no more.

The notes of the homily we confess look more like an exhibition of truth than any other set of notes with which we have met either from Romanists or Churchmen. Our modern Churchmen may reject them as unscrupulously as though they were found in Calvin's Institutes or Wesley's Sermons, and claim the right to supersede them with such as will better suit their taste. But until they shall show that their *catholic* notes are better sustained by Holy Scripture, thinking men will rather adhere to “the ancient landmarks.” And for ourselves, until we have further light upon the subject, we shall persist in maintaining that these same notes of the homily are the authorized notes of the church, adopted and set forth by the Church of England, and of course the notes by which it is but fair to test the claims of that church, and of her daughter in this country, to be “the church.” And as the homily tells us that “the true church” “hath always these three notes,” if upon examination it is found that the English Church or the Protestant Episcopal Church want either of these “three notes,” it is but justice to judge them by their own authorized definitions. Now we say, according to the test here laid down, the English hierarchy is not a “true church.” This we say according to the rule laid down in their homily, and upon the testimony of their own bishops and learned doctors, as above adduced. It will be understood that we give not this as our independent opinion, but as a legitimate inference from church authorities. “The sects” are often charged with wanton assaults upon “the church.” The fact is, however, that Churchmen have ever been the aggressors, and “the sects” have stood upon the defensive—have met the unchurching asseve-

* History of the Church of England, sec. 818.

rations of their assailants with arguments drawn from Scripture, reason, common sense, and history—and have refuted over and over again the unauthorized claims and pretensions of their opponents. The times now, we are disposed to think, call upon the evangelical churches to “carry the war into Africa.” And, as has been seen, all that is necessary in this case is to turn against Churchmen their own forces. We would put them upon their defense. We say, their own standards being the judges, that the English hierarchy is not a “true church” of Christ. Now let them plead guilty, or else honestly confess that there is no certain standard in the whole range of their theology—no “consent of doctors”—no notes of the church particularly defined; and then, that every man is left to make up his own mind and entertain his own views with regard to the nature of the church, and what communions are true churches of Christ.

Now we say fearlessly, that we do not consider the English Church to be established upon the principles of the New Testament. That standard knows no *state* church—no system of government so identified with the civil policy as that the moral discipline is entirely neutralized—the forms of worship, standards of doctrine, and terms of communion wholly under the control of the civil power, and so, of course, often subjected to the caprice of unconverted men—“evil livers,” and even professed infidels! The English hierarchy is a politico-ecclesiastical institution, but a true New Testament church it is not. There may be, we trust there are, many such, that is, true churches, embraced in this great heterogeneous corporation. A parish or a diocese under the government of a pious pastor might be such, though, under the existing constitution and laws, it would be exceedingly difficult to keep the necessary gospel order.

In respect to discipline, which we, with the homily, consider a note of the true church, the Church of England keeps less of the form and appearance than even the Church of Rome. The discipline of the Romish Church is defective, and not unfrequently wholly unscriptural. Still she holds her members to strict responsibility to their pastors. And she keeps in her own hand the power of repelling transgressors from her “eucharistic sacrifice,” and of finally excommunicating the refractory. But this power, as we have said before, the Church of England has given up to the state. Perhaps she thinks she has received of the state an equivalent in her endowments. But we know not what right she had from her Lord to barter away “the keys” for temporal livings! Let her look to this. When God shall require of her an account of the

high trust committed to her, what will she say? When she is required to give a reason for breaking down her hedges and letting into her pale a flood of infidels and heretics, it will scarcely be sufficient for her to answer, Lord, by this means I have made myself rich—I have fed and overfed my clergy—I have the power to control the universities—I have encircled within my communion lords and ladies—I have set up a tower of strength against dissent—I am one of the noblest establishments in the world—I am the bulwark of Christianity!! Will this do? No, indeed! If by this means that proud corporation has gained in temporalities, she has lost in purity infinitely more; if she has kept up the form of religion, she has lost the power; if she has preserved the outward profession of Protestantism, she has lost its spirit; if she still retains the name of a church, she has lost the purity and vitality of the spouse of Christ.

We shall, for the present, spare the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country, leaving the reader to judge for himself how far she has preserved “the right use of ecclesiastical discipline.” If she is marred by any of the defects of her old mother, she has not the same apology. She is wholly unconnected with the state. She has no difficulty in the way of enacting and executing such canons of discipline as would preserve her purity. But we must not enlarge.

We shall proceed next to examine Mr. Palmer’s notes of the church—“*One, holy, catholic, and apostolic.*” It must be recollected that according to Dr. Field the notes of the church are “inseparable and incommunicable”—they must *always* be found connected with the church, and *never* with any other community. Let us then proceed to inquire whether the notes which Mr. Palmer gives us will answer the description of Dr. Field, and to see how much light they afford us with regard to the true nature of the church.

First. We will inquire whether oneness or unity is a note of the church. In doing this we shall first notice some of Mr. Palmer’s definitions and limitations. He treats this subject under two general heads—“unity of *communion*, and unity of *faith*.” Under the first head he attempts to prove the following propositions:—

“First. That external, visible communion between all Christians, in matters of religion, was instituted and commanded by God.

“Secondly. That separation from this communion, either by a voluntary act, or by the legitimate judgment of the church itself, excludes from the church or the kingdom of Christ.

“Thirdly. That there is no promise that external communion shall never be interrupted in the catholic church.”—Vol. i, p. 63.

“Voluntary separation,” our author holds to be “a sin against

our brethren, against ourselves, against God ; a sin which, unless repented of, is eternally destructive to the soul." To prove this, he adduces numerous testimonies from the fathers ; all of which, Bishop Whittingham tells us in a note, relate to "separation from the communion of *a church*, involving, as a necessary consequence, separation from the church *catholic*." Here we have several important principles. *First*, that "separation from the communion of a church" is separation from the church catholic. *Secondly*, separation from the communion of the church catholic is schism, and "a sin against our brethren, against ourselves, against God." And *thirdly*, such schism "unless repented of, is eternally destructive to the soul." The corollary is, that "separation from the communion of a church" is *damning*—"unless repented of is *eternally destructive to the soul*."

Now we can see at a glance what was the fate of all the reformers upon this principle. They all must certainly have perished without hope ! Mr. Palmer does make an effort to save himself and the English Church from the legitimate results of his theory, but with what success we shall see. He acknowledges the Church of Rome a true church—a branch of the church catholic. The only hope he has for the continental reformers is that their separation was forced and temporary, and as to the English Church she never separated from the communion of the Church of Rome. She was, to be sure, cut off from that communion, but not by a "legitimate judgment." But all these are mere assumptions, and some of them are against the clearest historical evidence, and not one of them capable of proof upon the author's principles. On the contrary, were it necessary, it would be easy to prove that the separation of the continental reformers from the Church of Rome was properly voluntary, and as certainly final as any separation could be known to be at any period before the final consummation : and that the separation of the English Church was at first wholly *voluntary*, and the "judgment" of the Church of Rome which followed was as clearly "legitimate" as any ecclesiastical decision can be upon Mr. Palmer's principles of apostolic authority. But we must, at least for the present, leave this part of the subject.

Our author finally concludes "that separation from the church is incapable of justification." The various "excuses," such as "personal edification and improvement, correction of deficiencies in discipline, rites, &c.—because its external communion includes evil men—the mere existence of doctrinal errors, and the corruption of rites and sacraments," are, according to Mr. Palmer, wholly invalid. All these things put together, "afford no excuse whatever

for separating from the communion of any church." All this he gravely proves by St. Paul's prohibition to "do evil that good may come!" never seeming to be aware that, in this wondrously conclusive argument, he assumes what is still to be proved, that separation is in all cases an "evil" in the sense in which St. Paul uses the term.

But should our author prove what he undertakes, he would prove the greatest efforts of his own learned and worthy bishops to have been in vain, and worse than in vain. For in their very voluminous writings which have been put forth to justify separation from the Church of Rome, they undertake what Mr. Palmer, with singular modesty, says can never be done—they oppose St. Paul's doctrine that we are not to do evil that good may come, and by a formal defense of schism, they become schismatics, and so put themselves (without repentance) beyond the possibility of salvation.

In order to sustain his theory of unity, Mr. Palmer is obliged, in some way, to make it consistent with the present state of the "catholic" churches. The Church of Rome, the churches of the East, and the Church of England, are all, according to this author, true churches, and though they have long been completely separated, and utterly hostile to each other, they are still true branches of the catholic church, and that church is "ONE." The difficulty it seems is fully met by providing for an *interruption of unity*. For though "the external communion of the catholic church" is essential to its being, and *unity* with each other is a note of all its true members, yet this unity may "be interrupted." Now we observe that here is rather a serious *interruption of unity*. The Greek and Roman Churches mutually excommunicated and anathematized each other *more than a thousand years since*, and still persist in mutual charges of heresy and schism. In 1569, by a bull of Pope Pius V., "the supreme head on earth" of the English Church, with all who adhered to her, were excommunicated and anathematized: since which the whole English Church has been considered by the Church of Rome as involved in damnable heresy and schism; and the Church of Rome stands to this day charged with the same offenses in the authorized documents and formularies of the Church of England. Nor is there a whit more unity between the English and Greek Churches, than between the English and Roman. The Greek Church annually, on "the festival of orthodoxy," "anathematizes those who refuse adoration to the saints, or obeisance to their pictures, with all who pay them merely feigned homage, and all who regard the Lord's supper as merely figurative and symbolical, and all who deny subjection to

the first seven general councils. Every one falling under these anathemas, she regards as excluded from the Christian church, and will not admit them to the communion without rebaptism, and she forbids them intermarriage with her members.”*

Now admitting these churches to be branches of the catholic church, we wish to know how a more effectual breaking up of her “external communion” could well be effected? What authority has Mr. Palmer for calling this a mere *interruption* of unity? Does he certainly know that these hostile branches of the catholic church will ever be reconciled to each other? We doubt not but he sincerely desires it, and that many who symbolize with him are now laboring for its accomplishment. Indeed, some of his brethren have labored so openly to effect a union with Rome as to have occasioned much scandal, and this same Mr. Palmer has felt himself called upon to lift his powerful pen to ward off from the heads of the Tractarians the odium occasioned by the too rapid march of the “British Critic” toward the goal.† From which it would seem that our author has no notion that the time for the union has yet arrived, or that there is any immediate prospect of such an event.

Now we contend *first*, that these schisms are *radical*, and, as far as human foresight can determine, *final*. And *secondly*, that during their continuance, which has already been a tolerably long stretch of time, there is wanting, according to Mr. Palmer, one of the notes of the church in all those communions which he considers as true branches of the catholic church. Where, then, is the “one holy catholic and apostolic church” at the present time? Where has she been these thousand years back? As one of her essential attributes is *unity*, she is either to be found in one of the fragments into which she has been broken, or she is annihilated—or, which is more likely, her unity is not exactly the thing it is represented to be by our high-Churchmen.

On “unity of faith,” we have the author’s doctrine of “heresy.” He defines “heresy” to be “a *pertinacious* denial of some truth *certainly* revealed.” But he labors to show that “all errors even in matters of faith are not heretical.” And here he fairly leaves a loop-hole for all sorts of heretics to escape by, except “*pertinacious*” *dissenters*. But we cannot fully analyze this part of his system.

It is observable that “the sects,” as they are called, notwithstanding they are taunted with their differences by high-Churchmen and

* See Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners, 1841, p. 90.

† See “A Narrative of Events connected with the Publication of the Tracts for the Times, with Reflections on existing Tendencies to Romanism, &c., by Rev. William Palmer.” 1843.

Romanists, who constantly maintain that they cannot be branches of the church catholic, because they are all independent of each other, do really, after all, foster and exhibit the true principles of Christian union. They agree in the great essentials of Christian faith and charity—in the sacraments and ministry—and all equally acknowledge the Scriptures as the one only rule of faith and practice. They each acknowledge the validity of the ordinances as practiced by the others, and hold friendly and Christian correspondence. Now if all these principles of union were maintained among the self-styled catholic churches, would they not plead that “the church” was truly *one*? How does it happen that though these churches differ in essentials, even in church government—the only point which they seem to make essential to catholicity—one being *monarchical*, another *patriarchal*, and another *prelatical*—and though there have arisen among them schisms which are in no fair way of being cured, yet the *unity* of these bodies is only “interrupted;” while it is not admitted that there is, or ever was, any possibility of unity among “the sects?” Indeed, there is not, nor ever was, such an interruption (alias destruction) of unity among the evangelical denominations as now exists and is likely to continue among these “catholic churches.”

All we can take time to say further upon this note of the church is, that after all it is really *not a note of the church*, in any proper sense. Any association may be *united*. A club of infidels may all agree perfectly in one system of principles and measures. Hell itself may be in league. As, says Milton,

“Devil with devil damn’d, firm concord hold.”

The notes of the church then being, according to Dr. Field, “incommunicable,” this pretended note being found in all sorts of associations, cannot be a note of the church.

The next note in Mr. Palmer’s catalogue is holiness or “sanctity.” This he considers “in several different points of view:”—

“First, the sanctity of its head, and of those who founded it; secondly, the holiness of its doctrine; thirdly, the means of holiness which it has in the sacraments; fourthly, the actual holiness of its members; and fifthly, the divine attestations of holiness in miracles.”—Vol. i, p. 137.

Our author’s discussion of these several points is a strange specimen of theological mistiness. We shall only call attention to the fourth particular—“the actual holiness of its members.” In treating this point, the reader will be astonished, no doubt, to learn that

our author maintains the following propositions, which he has in capitals:—

“Those who are sinners, and devoid of lively faith, are sometimes externally members of the church.—Manifest sinners are sometimes external members of the church, and exercise the privileges of its members.—Visible sanctity of life is not requisite for admission to the church of Christ.”—Vol. i, pp. 139, 141, 144.

Now if Mr. Palmer had advertised us that he was about to tell us how matters stood in his own church, all this would not have been at all surprising. But his saying this of “the body of Christ,” and laboring to prove it from Scripture, is certainly more than could have been expected. Indeed, the whole argument goes against “the actual holiness of its members,” as a note of the church. It seems quite sufficient that the church should have a holy “head,” holy “doctrine,” holy “sacraments,” and holy “miracles,” without having holy “members.”—Now we deny that there are any adults in the *real* church of Christ but such as are regenerate. We do not say, nor do any of the evangelical denominations say, as Mr. Palmer supposes, that “the church can only comprise *perfectly* holy men.” All are not “fathers,” or even “young men,” but there are “little children” in the church. There are among true Christians various stages of religious experience: but all have “passed from death unto life.” In the apostolic age, when the true principles of church membership were doubtless well understood, it is said that “the Lord added unto the church daily such as should be saved,” (Acts ii, 47,) or τοὺς σωζόμενος *the saved—those who were saved*. Upon this passage Dr. A. Clarke observes:—“Though many approved of the life and measures of these primitive Christians, yet they did not become members of this holy church; God permitting none to be added to it, but τοὺς σωζόμενος *those who were saved* from their sins and prejudices. The church of Christ was made up of *saints*; *sinners* were not permitted to incorporate themselves with it.”*

Mr. Palmer denies “that visible sanctity of life is required for admission to the church of Christ.” Now, if by “visible sanctity of life,” he means an established religious character, none, it is presumed, will controvert his position. For as far as we are advised, no evangelical church requires more of an applicant for membership than evidence of *true repentance*. This is all the “visible sanctity” that ought to be required “for admission to the

* See Commentary. The same construction is given by Dr. Bloomfield: see Greek Testament, *in loco*.

church of Christ," and this, according to all New Testament teaching, is absolutely indispensable. To *continued* membership in the church, *the fruits of good living* are absolutely essential, and this is obvious from the very passages which Mr. Palmer quotes to prove the reverse.

We are not at all satisfied with the views of Dr. Mason upon the "mixed state of the church." He gives us formal reasons why "servants of sin as well as servants of righteousness should belong to the church." And the whole looks too much like compromising the holiness of the church, with a view to certain "uses," which to us appear of exceedingly doubtful character. *Allowed corruption* in the church can never add anything to her influence or resources which will compensate her for loss of moral power. An elevated state of moral and ecclesiastical discipline in the church, such as will take cognizance of the earliest developments of ungodliness and heresy, and immediately "purge out the old leaven," is the bulwark of defense, which, under God, will preserve the purity of her doctrine and membership; and too much vigilance can scarcely be exercised by those who are placed as watchmen upon the walls, to sound the alarm when danger is near. If the hedges of discipline are broken down, the church is no longer "a garden sealed," but a *common*, where all classes mingle together in the enjoyment of common privileges, just as it is in the wide world, beyond the pale of the true church. And when this comes to be the case with a church—as it is now with several professed churches—*Ichabod* will be written upon her temples, altars, and services. No impenitent sinner can ever be a member of the church in such a sense as to unite him to Christ, or make him any less an heir of perdition; nor can the church derive any advantage from such a connection which is not more than lost by the reproach which such members fasten upon the character of the church. Indeed, wicked men, however rich or influential, lie upon the very heart of the church as an incubus, obstructing or suppressing her pulsations of pious zeal and truly Christian charity.

We cannot better close what we have to say upon this note of the church, than by presenting to the reader a paragraph from Mr. Wesley. Upon the article of the creed, "The Holy Catholic Church," he remarks:—

"'The holy catholic church?' How many wonderful reasons have been found out for giving it this appellation? One learned man informs us, 'The church is called holy, because Christ the head of it is holy.' Another eminent author affirms, 'It is so called, because all its ordinances are designed to promote holiness.'

And yet another, 'Because our Lord *intended* that all the members of the church should be holy.' Nay, the shortest and the plainest reason that can be given, and the only true one, is—The church is called *holy*, because it *is* holy: because every member thereof is holy; though in different degrees; as he that called them is holy. How clear is this! If the church, as to the very essence of it, is a body of believers, no man, that is not a Christian believer, can be a member of it. If this whole body be animated by one Spirit, and endued with one faith, and one hope of their calling; then he who has not that Spirit, and faith, and hope, is no member of this body. It follows, that not only no common swearer, no sabbath breaker, no drunkard, no whoremonger, no thief, no liar, none that lives in any outward sin; but none that is under the power of anger, or pride; no lover of the world; in a word, none that is dead to God, can be a member of his church."*

The next note of the church, according to Mr. Palmer, is *catholicity*. The Greek word *καθολικος* *catholicos* signifies *general—universal*. It is found in the inscriptions to the Epistles of James, Peter, John, and Jude, and implies that these epistles are addressed to Christians in general, and not to some particular church. This word is not found connected with the church in the New Testament, but was quite anciently used in this connection. It was first designed to distinguish the church in general from particular churches; but subsequently it was used to distinguish the orthodox church from heretical churches. For several centuries it has been employed as a term of exclusiveness, to mark a communion which claims to be *alone* entitled to the attributes and privileges of the church: such is the use made of it by Romanists, by the Greeks, and by many Churchmen. How it is to be regarded as a note of the church, Mr. Palmer informs us in the following language:—

"UNIVERSALITY, of course, could not have been a characteristic of the church at its commencement, when it only existed at Jerusalem; but the testimony of Scripture, and history, and general opinion, oblige us to believe, that it was afterward to become universal, and to remain so always. It is not necessary for us to suppose a physical and absolute universality, including *all men*: this would be inconsistent with the predictions of antichristian powers. All that is here contended is, that the church was to possess *moral* universality, to obtain adherents in all the nations of the world then known, and to extend its limits in proportion as new nations and countries were discovered; and that it was never to be reduced again to a small portion of the world, though always subject to persecutions, fluctuations, and losses."—Vol. ii, p. 150.

* Sermon "Of the Church"—*Works*, vol. ii, p. 160.

What Mr. Palmer means then by "catholic," is "*moral* universality"—and this implies that the church shall gain "adherents in all the nations of the world." But in this sense catholicity would be a very dubious note of the church, for it might apply, and indeed has often been applied, to antichristian churches. When Arianism had become so general that "Athanasius against the world," had grown into a maxim, was "the catholic church" Arian?

But upon close inspection of Mr. Palmer's authorities, it will be found that there are no less than three distinct theories of catholicity set forth in them. One of these is, that catholicity embraces "the whole world," in opposition to any particular section: another, that of Archbishop Usher, that it embraces "the collection and aggregate of all the faithful:" and another, that of Bishop Pearson, makes it to consist in its "diffusiveness." Now will our good Churchmen tell us how we are to apply this note until we know *what* it is? Mr. Palmer gives us no light upon the subject whatever. His own definition is scarcely intelligible, and those of his authorities, which are thrown into his pages in a perfect jumble, without the least effort to reconcile them, are, in the main points, utterly discordant.

According to many church writers, the church is called catholic on account of the catholicity of her *faith*. This faith was called catholic, both as it contains all things necessary to salvation, and as it was to be preached and published in all times, and successively in all places; according to *Vincentius Lirinensis's* rule, *quod semper, quod religue, quod ab omnibus*, (what has been believed always, everywhere, and by all.)* Now if we are to ascertain where the true faith is by the application of this catholic rule, we shall not find it so easy a task. We are, indeed, put here upon what *Bishop Stillingfleet* properly calls "a wild goose chase," to settle the catholic faith, and then forsooth, when, by the application of this famous rule, we have done this, we are to see what churches hold this catholic faith, and these are to be recognized as true branches of the catholic church. The method which seems to be implied in Mr. Palmer's account of the matter is a little more summary, but no more satisfactory. He, like the Romanists, says, catholicity is a note of the church, then claims catholicity for the English Church, and lo! his conclusion is as clear as light, that the Church of England is the soundest and best branch of the church catholic! But how was this mode of reasoning treated by the old English doctors, when it was used by the Romanists? We will give the reader a specimen or two out of a thousand.

* Popish Notes of the Church examined, p. 71.

Dr. Jackson quotes the Romish author of a work entitled "Guide of Faith," as follows:—"Now I come to the great character of our glory, and renowned title of our profession, the name catholic, a name famous in the primitive church, famous in the apostles' days, and inserted by them among the articles of our creed.—No heretics could ever obtain to be called catholics by true Christians." To this, and much more to the same purpose, the great champion of the "Reformed Church of England" answers: "For this very reason, we Protestants of reformed churches, who are, if not the only true Christians on earth, yet the truest Christians, and the most conspicuous members of the holy catholic church, as militant here on earth, dare not vouchsafe to bestow the name of *catholic* upon any Papist, but with such an addition or item, as we give the name of *angels* to infernal fiends, which we term Satan's angels, or collapsed angels. Now the same analogy which *God's angels* or a holy angel hath to *Satan's angel*, or to a collapsed angel, a true and holy catholic hath to a modern Roman Catholic. For by this term we mean such a one, as being a servant of Satan, doth seek to transform himself into a true and holy catholic. The point which this *blind guide* was to prove was this, *that no heretics could usurp the name or title of catholic*. We say it is the property of the modern Romish Church to counterfeit the fairest titles given to the church, by orthodoxal antiquity, more plausibly than the ancient heretics could. And by this property, we discern her to be that mother of harlots, which can imitate the *lamb's* voice, while she acts the *wolf's* part. He further objects, that the Jews and Moham-medans, *when they hear a man named a catholic*, thereby conceive some member of the present modern Roman Church, not any of *Luther's* or *Calvin's* followers. So we likewise, when we hear a people brag and instile themselves a *holy nation*, we presently conceive the parties that thus instile themselves, to be Jews. Yet do we not for all this believe that the Jewish nation is the *holiest* of nations, or the only chosen people of God now on earth. As for both Jews and Turks, it is likely they could be well content to suffer the Romanist to enjoy the name *catholic*, as a pre-eminence above Christians. For, they might well hope to prove their own religion to be better than the best professed among Christians, if once it were granted that the Roman Catholic religion is the best. But to give the Christian reader some real solace after his pleasant recreation at this ridiculous discourser's folly; in that he and his fellows can thus seriously plead for the name *catholic*, which they seek by faction to engross unto themselves: this is an argument to us, that the floods already approach the sandy foundations whereon

this spiritual Babylon is built, and that her downfall is at hand. For unless her professed champions and pilots were likely to be drowned, they would not so earnestly catch at such shadows, or floating bull-rushes, as this Guide of Faith hath done. But leaving the shadow, let us in the next place see whether have better interest in the body or substance, whether we or they do better deserve the real title of *catholics*.”*

Saying nothing, for the present, of that feature of the above passage which seems to deny to Papists any part in the catholic church, we would invite attention to the charge of *unauthorized assumption*, which is so forcibly maintained. The Papist, “*being a servant of Satan*, doth seek to *transform himself into a true and holy catholic*.”—And, “It is the property of the modern Romish Church to *counterfeit* the fairest titles given to the church,” &c.

Dr. Sherlock, in commenting upon Bellarmine’s notes of the church, says, “His first note concerning the name *catholic*, I observe, makes every church a catholic church which will call itself so.” Again: Bellarmine says, “It is not without something of God, that she keeps the name still.” To this the learned Churchman replies: “But how does she keep it? She will call herself catholic when nobody else will allow her to be so; and thus any church may keep this name, which did originally belong to all true orthodox churches: as for heretics, they have challenged the name, and kept it too among themselves, as the Church of Rome does, though it belonged no more to them than it does to her.”†

And Dr. Freeman proves, by many conclusive arguments, that “no argument can be drawn from the *bare name* of catholic, to prove a church to be catholic.”‡

Now what better right have Churchmen to this famous appellation, *catholic*, than Romanists? Or what evidence does the mere assumption of it afford that they are real catholics? It may be here objected to us that Romanists assume the name and claim the thing *exclusively*, while Churchmen only claim a common title to it with other apostolical, that is, *prelatical* churches. Admitting this difference, to what does it amount? It still restricts the catholic church to the prelatical churches, and so excludes the Reformed Churches of the continent of Europe, and the Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist, and Baptist Churches of all parts of the world from any share in the church catholic. It is the same system of exclusiveness with the Romish, only it fixes its limits some-

* See Treatise of the Holy Catholic Church and Faith, chap. xx., ed. 1627.

† Romish Notes of the Church examined, p. 56.

‡ Ibid., pp. 72–76.

what differently. And forsooth, because our Churchmen assume to be true catholics, such they must be conceded to be! For it would seem that in these days, whatever was the case in the days of the old English fathers, the mere assumption of the name catholic is a veritable note of "the church!!!" But it will be found after all the bluster which is raised in these days over this venerable word, that it has no talismanic power to raise from the dead, and to adorn with apostolical simplicity and beauty, a trio of fallen churches, among whom scarcely a vestige of the original signs of a true church of Christ remains.

The fourth and last note of the church in Mr. Palmer's catalogue is *apostolicity*.

We hold that every true church is and must be "*apostolical*;" that is, it must possess the essentials of an apostolic church. And to *apostolicity* we reckon the following particulars necessary:—*First*, a congregation of Christians—of such as have a fair claim to the character of "faithful men," or *true believers*. *Secondly*, "the pure word of God" must be "preached" among them—they must hold the Scriptures to be the only rule of faith and practice, and their doctrines must be dispensed by men publicly recognized by the branch of the church to which they have attached themselves, and to whom they are immediately responsible for the faithful discharge of their peculiar functions. *Thirdly*, "the sacraments" must be "duly administered" among them—these must be both in manner and matter in strict accordance with the New Testament usage. *Fourthly*, "ecclesiastical discipline" must be preserved in a vigorous and healthful condition—none but proper persons must be admitted to the communion of the church, and all heretics and "evil livers" must be excluded her communion.

These particulars of an apostolical church we could easily prove essential to its being, but we cannot enter so wide a field. We can fully justify every one of them from the Scriptures, the fathers, and the reformers—both continental and English—but our limits will not permit.

But these are not the evidences of *apostolicity* adduced by high-Churchmen. They make the whole to consist in "the apostolical succession." Mr. Palmer, after laying down a variety of positions, which he takes for granted, or proves by other hypothetical propositions, presents the *fifth* and last, in these words: "An apostolical succession of ordination is essential to the Christian ministry." And a ministry thus derived from the apostles, by a succession of episcopal ordinations, he makes essential to a church. This is his position:—

"The great external sign of such a continuance of ordinations in any church is derived from the legitimate succession of its chief pastors derived from the apostles; for it is morally certain, that wherever there has been this legitimate succession, the whole body of the clergy have been lawfully commissioned.—This succession from the apostles is a certain mark of a church of Christ, unless it be clearly convicted of schism or heresy."—Vol. i, p. 172.

According to this system, no church can claim to be apostolical unless it can fairly make out three things. *First*, that its "chief pastors" are in the regular line of succession from the apostles: that is, have been *canonically* ordained by *prelates*. *Secondly*, that it has never been guilty of "*schism*:" and this must apply to the whole line of bishops from the apostles down. *Thirdly*, that it has never fallen into "*heresy*:" this too must apply to the whole chain of bishops of which the incumbent in the church in question is the last link.

Now we venture to affirm that there is not such a church in existence. Yea, more, *we challenge all the high-Church doctors in Christendom to make out a valid claim, upon these principles, to the character of "a church of Christ," in favor of any existing communion.* And when this is done, *we will*, as Bishop Jewel says, "*subscribe*."

Much has been written upon "the apostolical succession"—some things wisely and well said, and others loosely and foolishly. High-Churchmen usually find it quite as much labor as suits their convenience to assume the very matters upon which the whole controversy hinges, and then brace themselves up, and talk with as much confidence about "the apostolical succession," and the very ancient maxim, "*Nulla ecclesia sine episcopo*"—There is no church without a bishop"—as though they were dealing in mathematical axioms. A class of these writers, among whom is Mr. Palmer, throw themselves upon an ocean of definitions and historical facts, where they are so lost that their track is wholly undiscoverable to most readers. But to an acute student of ecclesiastical affairs, their historical and logical delinquencies are perfectly obvious, and little more is necessary than to bring the various parts of their theory together—to answer what they say in one place by what they say in another. Mr. Palmer has written voluminously, and when he shall have acquired sufficient importance—and this by the way he is in a fair way of doing at no distant date—it will be worth while for some shrewd writer to set Mr. Palmer against Mr. Palmer, and so make the learned author of the "*Treatise on the Church*" neutralize himself.

We shall now, in conclusion, merely glance at a few of the difficulties in making out the succession of episcopal ordinations. It is admitted on all hands that no system is laid down in the New Testament which clearly defines the succession of ordinations, and necessarily secures it from failure. Indeed, the most learned high-Churchmen depend wholly upon *tradition* for all this. There is no legitimate method of proceeding with the argument, but to prove the principle, "There is no church without a bishop," from evidence *aside from the Scriptures*, and then to prove the fact of a legitimate succession. We will not now question the authority of what high-Churchmen call *antiquity* or *tradition*, but will go upon their own ground, that the voice of antiquity is legitimate authority. Now what are the canons which govern the succession of bishops, according to these gentlemen? We shall quote some of them from two sources, which are universally acknowledged by high-Churchmen and Romanists to be authentic, and indeed are referred to as "apostolical documents." The fourth canon of the Council of Nice is as follows:—

"IV. It is most proper that a bishop should be constituted by all the bishops of the province; but if this be difficult on account of some urgent necessity, or the length of the way, that at all events three should meet together at the same place, those who are absent also giving their suffrages, and their consent in writing, and then the ordination be performed. The confirmation, however, of what is done in each province belongs to the metropolitan of it."

In the sixth canon it is said, "But this is clearly to be understood, that if any one be made a bishop without the consent of the metropolitan, the great synod declares that he shall not be a bishop."

Now we have a right to demand the proof that these canons have always been observed in the ordination of all the bishops in the line of succession. Can this be produced? But what will be the result of an application of these canons to episcopal ordinations in this country, where there is no "metropolitan?" Whether episcopal ordinations under these circumstances can be strictly canonical, it may be well for our American Churchmen to consider.

In the "apostolical canons" we have the following:—

"XXXV. Let not a bishop dare to ordain beyond his own limits, in cities and places not subject to him. But if he be convicted of doing so without the consent of those persons who have authority over such cities and places, let him be deposed, and those also whom he has ordained." This canon is quoted by Churchmen to prove the independency of bishops, and so to nullify the authority of the pope or bishop of Rome in the British isles. If

this is a canon of the catholic church, as they maintain, and if they are authorized to infer from it, as they do, that the bishop of Rome never had any more authority in Great Britain than the archbishop of Canterbury has now in Rome, then all the British ordinations since the days of Augustine the monk, who was, by the pope's order, ordained bishop in France by the archbishop of Arles, and received the pope's pall as archbishop of Canterbury, are *null and void*. At least, Augustine and Pope Gregory the Great, and all the bishops that have been ordained in Great Britain since A. D. 600, are liable to be "deposed," according to the apostolical canon.

Again. The same authority throws another difficulty in the way of the English succession.

"XXX. If any bishop obtain possession of a church by the aid of the temporal powers, let him be deposed and excommunicated, and all who communicate with him." Now to say nothing of the means by which Augustine exterminated the ancient British bishops, how came Cranmer under Henry VIII., Parker under Elizabeth, and Tillotson under William and Mary, in possession of the see of Canterbury? Was it not "by the aid of the temporal powers?" The last of these instances the Nonjurors maintained to be wholly uncanonical and schismatical,* and the two former were equally so, according to the tenor of this *apostolical* canon. There are then at least three, and including the usurpation of Augustine, four breaches of canonical order in the British succession. The English Church has her succession from a bishop acting "beyond his own limits," in violation of the canons of the

* The learned Nonjuror *Dr. Hicks* holds the following language in relation to this matter, and applies it to the existing succession of English bishops: "For Christian secular powers to drive rightful canonical bishops out of their *thrones*, by secular force, is plainly *dethroning* of the spiritual sovereigns by the spiritual subjects; a driving away the shepherds by the sheep; the fathers by the sons; and by consequence, utter rebellion against *Christ*, as well as an outrage upon the rights of the church." "Those priests, or bishops, who dare usurp the thrones of their fathers or brethren so unjustly, so illegally, so invalidly deprived, and driven from their thrones, are of all others the detestable usurpers, breakers of the most sacred bands of peace, amity, subordination, and charity, by which the kingdom and city of God doth subsist. They are *Korahs*, and princes of schism, from whom the Lord's people, by the laws of the Gospel, and the doctrines of the catholic church, ought to separate at the peril of their souls." "As they are all in the schism, so they are all out of the church, and can perform no acts of priesthood, neither from men toward God, nor from God toward men, that are of any virtue or force."—*Dr. Hicks's XXXIX. Articles*. See Collection of scarce and valuable Tracts, vol. iii, pp. 251, 252.

catholic church, and she has preserved it by repeatedly treating the same canons with utter contempt! Her bishops are all, *de facto*, "deposed" by what they generally allow to be *apostolical authority*!

Now be it observed that the authority we quote is the very authority which Churchmen call "most ancient," and upon which they settle the principles of the apostolical succession. For instance, they, upon the same authority, do not admit a bishop to be canonically ordained, and to be in the apostolical succession, who was not ordained by "three bishops,"—they have no authority except these same canons for this, nor have they any higher authority for making bishops a third order independent of presbyters.

The *fact* of an uninterrupted succession we cannot for the present examine. We have adverted to what are called the "canons of the universal church,"* in connection with this subject, because it is upon their authority that the legitimacy of the pretended succession of English bishops is professedly based. No intelligent high-Church successionist pretends that the mere laying on of the hands of a bishop is of itself sufficient to constitute another bishop, and induct him into the apostolical succession. It must be done according to *canonical order*, if it be a valid ordination. We then venture to try the English succession by the acknowledged code—the canons of the catholic church—and we should hazard nothing in resting the whole question upon this test.

We might quote other canons from the same source which are equally subversive of English episcopacy, but our limits are exhausted. We have not entered into the general argument upon the apostolical succession, as this would have carried us quite beyond all reasonable bounds. Nor have we the space to present the arguments from the canons as fully as we desired. Upon some other occasion, and perhaps in some other form, should God spare us, we may present the result of our inquiries upon the several topics treated in this article more fully. The more we investigate the subject historically the more clearly are we convinced that the high-Church claims are founded in unauthorized assumptions, and can only flourish where the light of Scripture and impartial history is either wholly obstructed or greatly obscured—and that even "antiquity" does not sanction them.

* We quote from a translation of the ancient canons recently put forth at Oxford, with the imposing title which follows: "The Definitions of Faith, and Canons of Discipline of the six Œcumenical Councils, with the remaining Canons of the Code of the Universal Church. Translated with Notes. To which are added the Apostolical Canons. By the Rev. William A. Hammond, A. M., of Christ Church, Oxford. Oxford, 1843."

ART. III.—*Practical Views of Mind.*

LET any one stand on some towering cliff that overlooks the meandering Mohawk, or the Hudson, or the Connecticut, and he will observe a large preponderance of valley over mountain scenery. Far as the eye can reach in the blue distance, he will see the river, like a ribbon of light, stretching toward the ocean, with the spreading vale on either hand, resting in quiet beauty and loveliness; while all around, the horizon will be serrated with the undulation of hills, and the occasional bluff that rears its head aloft, and marks a bold outline on the lower sky. So is the theatre of life. And of all the multitudes that are acting on it, far the most quietly retire to the vales of obscurity. Few, that assume a little more than a common responsibility, are seen peering just above the mass; while fewer still, that throw themselves into "the imminent deadly breach," rise up to bless or sway the world, and they bid defiance to its buffetings, like the mountain battlements that lift their heights toward heaven to meet the assaults of storm, and lightning, and tornado.

Now, every man composes a part of this great drama of active existence. And it is useful to consider often, whether that part is performed as well as it may be done, and *ought* to be done—whether the secret of successful action is concealed from us, from a want of a proper knowledge of ourselves.

To this end, therefore, let us enter now upon a brief survey of that which *thinks*—of MIND, the great central power in the movement of this world's affairs: of mind, not as viewed in reference to any one of its relations exclusively—not as cold, abstract intellect simply; but as it applies to the whole man—intellectual, sentient, and moral.

The wise Architect of the universe, by duly proportioning each department of our spiritual nature, hath furnished us with a most fortunate mental organization. For intellect, unwarmed, uncherished by emotion, without sensibility to give it views of fitness, and without conscience to guide it to perceptions of right and wrong, were like a wrought statue—marble, cold, dead—most perfect in form and outline indeed; but still inanimate, never speaking, never acting. So, if the mind were all sensibility, uncontrolled by reason, this earth were never the place for it. It could scarcely be doomed to a more uncongenial spot in creation. Or if the intellect and the emotions were duly balanced; if the sensibilities and desires, and all the propensities, were developed in due keep-

ing with reason, and there yet remain a dormant, paralyzed conscience—a disordered moral action of the soul—it were better, infinitely better, that the whole mind, in such a condition, be paralyzed for ever beyond the hope of resuscitation.

It is mind in its entire character, in all its habits of feeling, thinking, and choosing, that we are now considering; and we wish to exhibit it in such aspects as will suggest the best modes of studying it with the view to its successful action on the theatre of life.

The first aspect in which we shall attempt to exhibit the mind, is the range it takes, or appears to take, among men. When we speak of the general range of mind, we are apt to refer it to the gradation that begins with the feeblest ray of intellect in this world, and continues through every order of created intelligence up to the great Eternal Mind on the throne of the universe. But we are now concerned with the difference of mind that seems to obtain in the human race. And if we take up the question whether the great inequality of intellectual condition, which we see around us, arises from an essential difference in original formation, we would, with much respect to an opposite opinion, reply that, in an important sense, we think it does not. A few years employed in the business of education have furnished us much opportunity for observing and reflecting on this subject, and every fact in relation to an apparent difference of grade among minds, and every view candidly deduced from such facts, have led us to conclude that *genius* is not so choice a gift of nature, but that it is in the possession of every one.

There are some who, from precociousness and morbid development, very early in life give to the world a marvelous exhibition of intellectual power. And there are others too who, from a happy conformation of body and many favoring external circumstances, joined to an indomitable habit of perseverance, give their names as watchwords to all who aspire after a gigantic strength of mind. But instead of awarding to these the exclusive possession of genius, we would affirm that, in respect to power and resources of talent, no man is without them. And the reason why so many live in comparative mediocrity is, because they are content to live merely upon the *surface* of their souls. It requires toilsome and unremitting labor to dig to the depths of the human spirit, and to develop its treasures there. Genius lies too deep in the mind to be got at by ordinary habits of application. Because it comes not up spontaneously to our use, the impression is fixed that we have it not; and we seldom or never make a single exertion to find out our mistake. But any one may astonish himself by the results which protracted

and enthusiastic mental effort will produce. These results may not be seen by him in a day, or a month, or a year ; but let an unconquerable determination engage his mind in an incessant toil for many years, and he will find an energy and power of intellect which he never before imagined he possessed.

The fact before mentioned is not to be forgotten in this connection, that some come into the world with *quicken*ed intellects—with minds prematurely exhibiting remarkable power. A most exquisite sensibility seems, in these cases, to sharpen the intellect and give it unusual precocity. But precocity is almost always a sure indication of disease. Physical development not keeping pace with the mental, the body becomes too fragile a casket for the mind ; and unequal to the severe action within, it droops and dies.

Nor is it to be denied, in awarding the possession of genius to all, that some exhibit a greater facility to apprehend and to learn than others. This arises, perhaps, from many causes—some immediate, others more remote. There is a constitutional connection of the mind with the body ; and any irregular condition of body will destroy the uniformity of intellectual action. “God has erected around the soul, unseen and intangible as it is, an outward structure of visible chords and artificial frame-work, such as the wonderful system of the nerves, the eye, the ear, and the senses generally.” Now let a single organ of this system be deranged, and the sympathizing soul feels it instantly. Sometimes its susceptibilities are quickened ; but oftener they are blunted. Repeated violations of an organic law interpose obstructions to mental development, and in this way only can we account for the apparent difference of mind which we see in this world.

But physical impediments, whether hereditary, or brought on by our own transgression, do not annihilate mind ; all the elements of its power and expansion remain—all the creative energies, the power of original and ever-growing thought, are there ; and though they require stronger effort from some than from others to bring them into action, yet not a man lives but may, by ceaseless discipline and toil, cause thought to throng up reinless and masterless to the outlet of the soul from the very depths of the understanding. Not a man lives, with common rationality, who is not endowed with talent sufficient, if well improved, to raise him to distinction and high usefulness. We may speculate much on the obligations of those whom we may think more gifted by nature than ourselves, and thus be content to retire into quiet mediocrity, and spend our days in accomplishing nothing. But the God of nature will not

excuse us. He has endowed us with powers and energies, and he requires us to task them every moment. And if, by pandering to sense, we may have in any manner closed up the inlets to thought, and thus decreased our aptitude to learn, still weightier is the obligation upon us for exertion.

Were it within the province of this article—were it not inconsistent with the practical character of our subject—we might introduce analogies which would show that all the comparatively low degrees of intellect apparent in community are referable to disease as a cause, or to inherited derangement of those organs with which the mind is connected; and that however much ancestral abuses, or disease, or misfortunes of any kind, may have cut off the facilities for the development of intellect here, the mind—the mind of even an idiot—shall yet unfold, when disengaged from its mortal coil, and shall receive an indefinite expansion in the ages of eternity. But it is proper that we leave such a speculation to a more appropriate occasion. Let it be understood, however, that while we claim that all minds would have been more nearly equal in respect of original strength, had not sin been permitted to make such perversion and havoc of intellect in our race, we are far from claiming that all minds would have been *similar*, that there would have been no differing tastes, no division of mental labor. Far from it. The analogies with which the world abounds press with overpowering weight against such a conclusion. The world is full of variety. Not the same scenery is seen on every part of the earth's surface; it is covered all over with hill and dale, with the vast plain and the lofty mountain range. Not a dull uniformity is the revolution of years; there is the verdure of spring—the golden harvest—the varied hues of autumn—and the white-robed winter. And amid this diversity there is an infinite diversity still. But surely not less diversified is the intellectual world. As various as the features and form of “the human face divine,” is the cast of feeling and of thought in the souls of the universe. No two minds resemble each other exactly. And the God of providence has wisely adapted all the differences of nature to all the differences of mind. We may well deprecate the jarring disputes among men that result from debased passion, but to complain of such disagreements as arise from diversity of mental constitution is to find fault with the ordination of Heaven: for from the infinite multiplications of variety in nature and in intellect, Heaven intends we shall receive an infinitely greater number of ideas than we could receive if a monotonous resemblance prevailed over the universe.

The next view we shall take of mind is its power. And our

remarks will, in the first place, relate chiefly to the waste of mental power.

Probably millions of our race have passed off the stage of being without knowing a thousandth part of the strength that was in them. Whole nations, and many successive generations of them, have lived with only a simple knowledge of a few facts of their existence. We do not deem this the time to inquire into the causes of such ignorance, and of such a waste of mind through ignorance. Causes contrary to these, doubtless, have produced the event, several times in the world's history, of a whole nation exhibiting, as it were, a sudden burst of intellectual splendor; as Greece, in the age of Pericles; and Rome, in the Augustan age; and Britain, beginning with the latter reigns of the house of Stuart.

Another cause of intellectual waste is indolence. The world has permitted, and is still permitting, a vast capital of mind to lie unemployed through indolence. The mass of men who regard themselves as possessing only a common capacity are satisfied with merely knowing enough to perform some limited duties of life; and the whole exertion of their minds is upon the business of accumulation, which often has a tendency to contract rather than to expand the mind. Even the few, to whom a kind providence has given an unusual facility for great mental development and acquisition, have not, in every instance, the patience or the disposition to benefit the world with their talents, by bringing them to result in some grand and useful issue. They seem not to have such a distinct view of the object of life as will always produce a healthy and uniform stimulus to intellectual exertion. A feverish ambition to excel is soon gratified. It is merely a desire prompted by vanity, to be flattered by the world as possessing talent, and when this is gratified, such a self-satisfied feeling is usually induced as terminates, for the most part, in the greatest indolence. It is quite probable, that days, weeks, months, and even years, run to waste with the most of men through idleness of mind. A moderate estimate of a daily loss of an hour or two, on an average, through sleep, or dissipation, or unemployed leisure of any kind, would amount, in the course of a whole life of common length, to several years. Several years of life devoted to the waste of mind! Nay worse, worse than waste! Mental power is weakened and rendered less available when we would exert it. The mind needs recreation: it will not bear the protracted tension to which it is drawn when powerfully exercised. But it must be active. It *may* be relaxed, but never deadened. To spend hours in thinking of *nothing*, instead of regaling, stupefies the mind. And we may hope

for no talismanic wand to give it instant life again, if once it becomes torpid. Away with indolence, away with it. Let the thousands of day dreamers shake it off, and they will soon know why they had thought they possessed no genius, no intellectual power equal to that of their more successful competitors.

But the chief cause of mental dissipation and indolence has a deeper moral coloring. Conscience reigns supreme among the faculties. And if all goes wrong in the heart, scarcely anything can go right in the operations of the intellect. A violated conscience upsets the upright and harmonious action of sensibility; and a disorganized state of the sensibilities disturbs the calm flow of thought, and prevents a concentration of mental power. When the mind is fresh and vigorous with strong moral sentiment, it regards the loss of time as an affliction, and it aspires for knowledge, the great instrument of power, with inexpressible eagerness. Harmony is then preserved among the faculties, and a beautiful symmetry is given to the whole mind. No distortions occur in such cases, from an undue attention to one department of the soul; for the moral, and the sensitive, and the intellectual man, all receive a coetaneous and correspondent training. The conscience, a just but absolute sovereign, dispenses blessing and success to the obedient, but on the reckless and the unprincipled it inflicts the severest penalties. The novice in immorality is first stung with remorse, but long indulgence in sin entirely fritters away the sense of guilt, until the conscience seems both dethroned and dead. But the conscience never dies. Its apparent death is impregnated with the elements of a real and terrible resurrection. It notes, as a silent sentinel, all the havoc which moral pravity is making of the powers of intellect, and at the appointed time of its reappearance, it comes forth to avenge such havoc and its own abuse. In this condition the whole mind is in disorder and anarchy. All its powers are only so many conflicting elements, refusing to be combined that their action may be more efficient and regular. No energy of intellect can, amid irregularity or phrensy of feeling, bring thought to bear with point and definiteness upon anything. Milton makes the arch fiend, in a world of *horror*, to say,—

“The mind is its own place, and in itself
Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven.”

This may pass for a speculative truth;—it may be true indeed of a ruined archangel, but never of ruined man. As great a mind as Bacon's, it would seem from authentic accounts, was hardly able to endure the agony of uncommunicated grief, when by *alleged*

crime he fell from state splendor ; but conscious of no guilt except what arose from partaking of the abuses of his times, he bequeathed "his name and memory to men's charitable speeches, to foreign nations and the next ages," and left to the world the mightiest achievement of intellect. The mind of Lord Byron, splendid as it was in the department of the imagination, was so besotted with vice as to leave to his command but very little of its power, compared with what it might have possessed, had he lived with more temperance and with a less perverted sensibility. Such men do not live out half their days. By the peculiarities of their ideas, by their tremendous, bold, perhaps blasphemous flights of thought, they may excite attention for awhile, but they soon die. They are like awful meteors—gazed on, admired, and often feared for a moment—then go out in darkness. The world were better off without them. Depraved talent squanders most of its treasures and power in polluting the world. It commands an overweening adoration from the world. Far more readily is a thought embraced and called magnificent, if it is once known to have sprung from a splendid genius of iniquity. It is very natural for youthful mind, unprotected by religious principle, to search for the paradoxes of Hume or Voltaire, which seldom fail to lead it away into a bewildering skepticism ; and then it becomes eager to swallow innumerable absurdities and contradictions, to get rid of a few *apparent* difficulties that are grafted on the accredited revelation of God. The consequence is, that many a budding promise of intellectual growth is withered, the sensibilities chilled, and the conscience stupefied. A cold, cheerless, soulless view of man's destiny cannot do anything to arouse intellectual energy. It *can* and *does* often do much to dwarf the intellect and the affections, and to suppress those aspirations of the soul which are such striking evidence of its indestructibility. No great and kindling thought is stirred within us at the prospect of our carrying mind with us to the grave to bury it there. The mind asks freedom, sometimes, from the walls of its tabernacle, and it goes out upon the wide, immeasurable creation ; its laboring thought, perchance, is on its own nature as connected with the universe around, or it follows to its source the far-streaming light of some distant world, and there studies motion, magnitude, attraction ;—is it not marvelously inspiring to suppose it shall linger awhile after its return, then go down to dust with the body ? But, irony aside, how much stronger motive for immortal action is afforded by a dark uncertainty respecting our future being, with a supposed array of strong probabilities against it ? What man of worldly ambition

would long endure a selfish toil for a fame that should sound over the world and through the ages, unless he hoped for a place somewhere in the universe to witness his own past glory? The truth is—but the *veteran*, as well as tyro, in skeptic speculations seldom sees it—no man acts wholly for the present. The conviction of our relation to futurity is as deeply inwrought into our consciousness as is any other law of our being. Most certainly would a sullen indifference to the dignity and susceptibilities of the deathless intellect rest on all the world, if the sentiment prevailed in it, that our entire being is to be spanned by the brief existence we have on earth. Yet the spirit that prompts men to say, “Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die,” has doubtless caused a vast prodigality of mind. In such cases the restraints of conscience are generally removed from outward conduct; the sensibilities degenerate with self-love into a disgusting selfishness; and the whole mind, engaged in confused speculations on many things, obtains no definite result in anything. And such cases very often occur, as we said before, from its being so natural for the world to be dazzled by the brilliancy of depraved talent. Infinitely better were the world, then, without such talent. No value does it derive from all the wit and splendid ribaldry which the strongest of abused talent has ever lavished upon it; but *incalculable mischief*, in unsettling the principles of youth, and in checking their intellectual and moral progress.

“No good man weeps when gifted villains die.”

Thus much have we said of the waste of mental power. But what *is* mental power? What is it, when neither ignorance, nor indolence, nor immorality can make any deductions from it? When invigorated by a fortunate and a well-managed exertion of itself for many years, what does it become? We will not deal in extravagant hyperbole about this power; but will simply say, it is akin to that intellectual energy which brought the universe into being. And no imagination can conceive of the greatness of such a gift to mortal man. It is God’s highest work, his mirror and representative. Mind is the great instrument of power that sets in movement all the affairs of this world. All the scenes—the busy, quiet, gay, solemn scenes of this life—are but the varied developments of that same mind. And sufficient has been said to show that the neglect and abuse it meets with from some, and the high improvement it receives from others, make the great difference as to the degree in which the power and resources of mind are exhibited among men. Whatever view of this matter may be taken,

no one will, deny that those who have been most assiduous in developing their moral and intellectual powers have been really the most successful and useful on the theatre of human life.

To those concerned in mental culture, it occurs now as a question of unusual importance, how they may best avail themselves of an improvement that will secure to mind its greatest power. The world is spread out before them as a theatre for one great action—the action of mind ; and it is natural for most to aspire to go forth and make some prominent experiments there.

The usual reply to the question of improvement is, *a patient and well-directed application of mind, and a conscience kept void of offense toward God and toward men.* To grow in mental strength and stature, the mind must *labor*. There is no royal road to intellectual greatness. The way to such greatness is by pure moral purpose and inflexible toil. The growth, and power, and influence of mind, are never attained without *exertion*—and exertion too to the end of life. Neglect, therefore, and indolence, and everything else that hinders mental development, bring palpable guilt upon us. Sins they are, against the laws of our being, and against what God and the world require of us.

But this may be regarded too much as a professional topic—since it is the burden of all popular essays on this subject. We will, therefore, leave it, and mention as an auxiliary means for improvement, the habit of patient and accurate observation, as well as study—observation of *nature, men, and events.* The labor expended in study brings out talent ; but we possess no skillful command of our talents till we have learned the proprieties of time, place, subject, and circumstances, which a careful survey of the three things named above will secure to us. When the mind is relaxed from the toil of severe study, we may all the while be passing through another kind of discipline. By the way-side, in the streets, in the field, in the public conveyance, or anywhere we may chance to be, we may continually acquire that practical wisdom which is so necessary for influence and usefulness on the arena of active life. The study of nature eminently conduces to this, because nature gloriously displays the wisdom of God. We come in contact with nothing so perfect as God's works ; and the spirit which a careful attention to them is calculated to inspire, cannot fail to correct our judgments, and to teach us the true fitness of things in the conduct of life. Nature hath a lesson for us in every rock, and tree, and plant, and leaf, and floweret. In each we may receive an idea of beauty, or excellence, or utility, which, unhappily, is too far from

the apprehension of coarse, uncultivated reason. Then we may transfer that idea to character, and, so far as it will apply, to the actual business and circumstances around us. Nature hath her sympathies with us. Her myriad voices speak in tones often that touch the keynote of the soul. There are the whispering zephyrs, the Æolian strains, the soft-falling shower, the warbling of birds, the wailing storm, and old ocean's eternal anthem. Sights, too, of inimitable beauty and loveliness pour their delights upon the eye. And every sense is supplied from the multiform contributions of nature sufficiently, if we are not besotted, to soothe, to animate, and to instruct us.

Nothing in nature is without a meaning and without a use. The external world is perfectly adapted to the moral and intellectual constitution of man. God has not unrolled the vast expanse of sky, and spangled it with bright orbs, and spread over earth a profusion of beauty, magnificence, and grandeur—God has not done all these for naught. He has a moral purpose in them, with which not one of all the intelligences he has created ought to be unconcerned. There is a most intimate relation between them and us, and our minds suffer an irreparable loss by not attending to it. Mystery there is, around us, within us, above us,—*everywhere* there is mystery; but an active interest in the greatest of these mysteries cannot fail to drive from us sensuality and every vulgar stimulant to earthliness, and bring our spirits more in harmony with the spirit of the universe. Wiser and happier certainly might we be, if not holier, to commune often with nature, and study the wisdom of God, mirrored as it is in all the natural scenes around. But neglecting this, we cannot carry into the concerns of life that tasteful and practical finish of mind, so necessary to meet well the demands of the world upon us. Let one witness the descending glory of the setting sun of a summer evening; then let him watch “the varying tints of twilight, ‘fading, still fading,’ till the stars are out in their beauty, and a cloudless night reigns, with its silence, shadows, and repose;” and he will observe then with what serenity, and calmness, and even moral power, he can judge and act, when he goes into the conflicts of life again. Every intent observer of nature, whether in her mildest or wildest aspects—whether her smiling landscapes, or her more terrific phenomena—feels his spirit so tempered and subdued by the air of benignity and mercy that is breathed around him, as to enable him to carry into the scenes of life a more sober, chastened, and dignified philosophy.

For further improvement of mind under process of cultivation,

“The proper study of mankind is *man*.”

A shrewd study of human nature is the business of but very few. Though the field is wide, and the subject continually before us, yet the observations taken are generally but very superficial glances. Man has a noble nature, but it is in ruins ; and it is on this account that it furnishes so many peculiarities for the incessant employment of our reflective powers. We do not have to go far in the multitude to find almost an infinite variety of shades and color in human character. Any little community is, in this respect, a world in miniature. Almost every habit of feeling and action is to be seen in a community of varied temperaments, pursuits, and interests. You may see anywhere nearly all the *phases* in the scale of character, from the man of the most glaring contradictions to the man of steadfast simplicity and integrity. You may see deceit, and envy, and malice, and the spirit of scandal, enter as malignant elements into many a soul. But why notice these unlovely traits of human nature ? Because they do us important service in two ways. First, on account of their disgusting exhibitions sometimes, they are not very apt to beget within us a high admiration of themselves ; and if we do not stoop to retaliate, when we encounter these dispositions, we may certainly place to our own account an increased virtue and a more vigorous moral nerve. Every deceitful intrigue on the victim of impolicy, every unquiet temper aroused at our own success, every malicious inuendo concerning our character, and every bitter invective that falls from the tongue of slander, furnish means for gaining greater honors than the battle-field furnishes to the crowned conqueror. For "he that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city." In the second place, a scrutiny into the evil sentiments of men throws us upon our own powers of discrimination. And this is perhaps the greatest intellectual benefit resulting from the study of man. One man may confer on us the unfeigned smiles of a deep and pure friendship. Another man "may smile and smile and be a villain still." It is best, in such cases, to be able to detect the false and the gross from the true and the valuable. But to discriminate, we must reflect. The impressions of first sight are not discrimination. There is much in the countenance from which to judge, it must be confessed, and much in the open demeanor of occasional interviews ; but there is *more* in the uniform bearing of the soul,—and with this we must become acquainted to understand it. Premature decisions often lead us into what are afterward found to be most glaring mistakes. Premature decisions are peculiar to individuals in community who are subject to fits of prepossession and punctilious fancy. In this way merit sometimes lies for a long while concealed. Conventional feelings and a purse-

proud aristocracy are over-scrupulous for forms, and where they prevail, they frequently do much to delude the world with false views of merit ; and thus merit is compelled of itself to emerge from a superincumbent weight of prejudice and perhaps detraction. Now let a habit of just discrimination be early formed, and the mind will a thousand times be saved from the mortification of a premature judgment on persons and things of which it knew but little.

Much illustration might be brought to this point ; but it is time we proceed to the last thing mentioned as affording improvement to mind, in the course of its education, and that is, the study of events. Here we come into the region of experience. Life is filled up with a tissue of events, from which we derive most valuable experience. Scarcely a day passes but some novelty occurs, and however unimportant it may be, a sagacious observer will make a choice appropriation of it to himself for future use. The opportunity to improve in the habit of close observation is greater perhaps in reference to this subject, than in reference to almost any other. The whole of a passing event can be canvassed by the mind, and reflection can linger on it long afterward. By this means the ability to make shrewd calculations respecting some future results in government and politics is acquired. The aggregate bearings of several events are studied ; and their issue, centering at one point, is determined with singular sagacity. So might it probably be done in reference to the collective action of men on any subject. Men do not think alike—they *cannot* think alike ; and they divide into parties, and each party, emulous of the others, puts forth every effort for victory. It is both useful and amusing to observe with what science and tact some conflicting organizations do operate ; for in studying the results of their action, we acquire much valuable knowledge of human nature.

But equal advantages arise from studying the recorded experience of individuals and of the world. Biography and history are full of facts that may have a sort of reference to our good in every hour of our existence. What others have thought, and said, and done, may arouse within us a moral and intellectual energy, and give birth to thoughts in our minds that shall excite other minds, and go on multiplying themselves for ever. Then to go far back into primeval ages, and follow up with philosophic eye the long track of God's providence, as seen in the history of man—this likewise enlarges in a high degree the comprehensive power of the mind. Dominion, thought, and morality, are the great and distinct points of study in that survey. Alexander, Cesar, and Napoleon, stand out on the theatre of the world as heroes of a deep and solemn

tragedy. The passion for dominion, and for dazzling manifestations of power, held them and a host of others with an absolute sway, and would have controlled the destiny of the world, but for an overruling Spirit which has ever managed to make virtue and thought, free and unrestrained thought, to sit as the *real* arbiters of men and of nations.

Mind—we have viewed it only in its range, its waste, its power, and its means of improvement, and now we close our train of thought—mind in its ten thousand aspects can be studied on a great scale in biography and history. And the truly noble and excellent which we may thus perceive in mind, can be separated from all that is worthless and be grafted into our own natures, if we please. The great and the worthy of other ages are our models, our instructors; and the chief lesson they teach us is, that our happiness and our usefulness on the theatre of life are to be wrought out by our own faithfulness to God and to conscience.

Cazenovia, December, 1843.

ART. IV.—*The Natural History of Man: with special Reference to the Mosaic Account of the Unity of the Human Race.*

THE question here presented for investigation is one, the decision of which is not a matter of indifference either to religion or humanity. As the testimony of the sacred Scriptures is received with implicit and reverential assent by the readers of this Review, they of course believe that all mankind are the offspring of common parents; but it is intended to establish, in the following pages, the unity of the human race from natural facts alone, thus showing that the Author of nature speaks the same language as the Author of revelation.

On comparing human kind with inferior animals, the most remarkable contrasts and resemblances are observed; for while there is little difference in physical structure presented, in endowments and capabilities it is immeasurably great. The extraordinary resemblance between man and the brutes which he slays for his daily food, or uses as the servile instruments of his will, as regards mere physical constitution, is revealed by the study of anatomy and physiology. Man is but an animal, using the word in its ordinary acceptation, so far as regards the composition and functions of his various organs; that is, these points of resemblance comprise all the arrangements of physical structure by which the life of the

body is maintained,—by which its development from the monadical state to its highest perfection is brought about,—by which its natural decay and dissolution in death are provided for,—and by means of which self-same organism, the race is perpetuated in a succession of similar beings. There is, however, a most remarkable difference between man and the brute,—a contrast which every one will be ready to say consists in man's being endowed with an immaterial principle—a soul. But, although the existence of an immortal soul is known only through the evidence of *revealed* truth, yet the *natural* argument that man alone, of all terrestrial animals, is endowed with faculties, which impel him to speculate on the past, to anticipate the future, and to exalt his hopes beyond this visible sphere, anxiously desiring to share in the glory of this unseen existence, led even the philosophers of ancient times to regard him as an object of some high future destiny.

Now as the manifestation of this immaterial principle, in this world, depends upon nervous matter, so we are taught by the study of anatomy and physiology that this nervous system becomes more perfect and complicated in proportion as we ascend from the lower links of the animal chain up to man, in whom we discover the highest perfection of a brain, spinal marrow, and their appendages. As the brain is the organ of the mental manifestations, it is in this that man holds that pre-eminence which has secured to him the title of “lord of creation.” The dog, for example, manifests, it is true, in common with man, the phenomena of love and hatred, of fear and revenge, of desire and aversion; but he, like all other animals inferior to man, never attempts to improve the condition imposed upon him by external circumstances. Man, on the other hand, is unceasing in his efforts through successive ages to rise superior to the agencies of material nature, and to render them subservient to his wants and pleasures. Thus while each tribe of wild animals is restricted to a comparatively small area of the earth's surface, man, on the contrary, gaining victories over the elements, which he turns with all their fearful powers to the promotion of his own advantage, becomes a cosmopolite, alike capable of living on the shores of the icy sea or the burning sands of equatorial plains. For this boasted power of accommodating himself to all climates, he is, however, less indebted to the pliability of his body than to the ingenuity of his mind; for, although naturally more defenseless against external agents than inferior animals, yet, by the exercise of his mental endowments, man can interpose a thousand barriers against the deleterious effects of climate.

That man thus modifies the agencies of the elements upon him-

self, is sufficiently obvious ; but there arises the converse question—Do not these agencies likewise modify him, thus fitting him to possess and occupy the whole earth ? Are we not to attribute to these physical causes, in connection with moral conditions, the very different organization presented in different regions by the same human family ? In surveying the globe in reference to the different appearances of mankind, the most extraordinary diversities are, indeed, apparent to the most superficial observer. The Patagonian and Caffre, compared with the Laplander and Esquimaux, are real giants, the stature of the latter being generally two feet less than that of the former. What a striking contrast does the coarse skin and greasy blackness of the African present to the delicate cuticle and the exquisite rose and lily that beautify the face of the Georgian ! Compare the head of the Circassian, having those proportions which we so much admire in Grecian sculpture, with the flat skull of the Carib, or that of the negro, with its low, retreating forehead, and advancing jaws ! Or behold in the one the full development of intellectual power, as displayed in arts, science, and literature, and in the other a mere instinctive existence ! Hence arises the question—*Have all these diverse races descended from a single stock ?* Or, on the other hand, *Have the different races of mankind, from the beginning of their existence, differed from one another in their physical, moral, and intellectual nature ?* This inquiry opens to our view a wide and interesting field of investigation ; and to determine which of these two opinions, as a mere question of natural history, is best entitled to our assent, is the leading object of this paper.

We will here state that this is not the first time that we have written upon this subject ; and as our present object is to present a condensed view of our previous remarks, improved by new facts and further observation and reflection, we shall not be at any special pains in endeavoring to invent new forms of expression, should we think the language previously used to be sufficiently precise and graphic.

One of the most interesting problems in history is, the geographical distribution of the human family ; but history, if we exclude the Mosaic account, affords no data for determining the great problem of man's origin. Any one who allows himself to speculate upon this subject, will at first view be inclined to adopt the opinion that every part of the world had originally its indigenous inhabitants—“*antochthones*”—adapted to its physical circumstances. By this hypothesis, a ready solution is afforded of some of the most difficult questions presented in the investigation of the physical

history of mankind; for instance, the remarkable diversity in figure and complexion observed among different nations—their difference of moral and intellectual character—and their peculiarity of language and even dialectic differences, observed as far back in antiquity as the days of Jacob and Laban. We might thus explain the fact that the oldest records, ever since Cain went to the land of Nod, seldom allude to an uninhabited country; or the no less surprising fact, that in many parts of the world, as, for instance, Central America, we discover vestiges of a primeval population, who, having dwelt there for ages and brought the civil arts to a comparatively high degree of cultivation, were swept away before the dawn of history. But many of these obscurities will be made to disappear before the light of science, like mist before the morning sun, thus reconciling, in many points, science and revelation. Although the extreme diversities of mankind would seem, at first view, to forbid the supposition of a common origin, yet we find them all running into one another by such nice and imperceptible gradations, not only in contiguous countries, but among the same people, as to render it often impracticable to determine, independent of the individual's locality, to what family of the human race he belongs. It will even be seen, as the result of modern ethnographic science, that *the language of men was originally one!*

Before proceeding to our researches into the natural history of the organized world, we will here introduce the known facts relative to the *geographical distribution of man*. The probable birth-place of mankind—the centre from which the tide of migration originally proceeded—has always been, on the assumption that the whole human race has descended from a single pair, a matter of speculation with many. History points to the East as the earliest or original seat of our species, as well as of our domesticated animals and of our principal food. That this birth-place was situated in a region characterized by the reign of perpetual summer, and the consequent spontaneous production, throughout the year, of vegetable aliment adapted to the wants of man, has always been a favorite conjecture. From this point, with the progress of human population, men would naturally diffuse themselves over the adjacent regions of the temperate zone; and in proportion as new difficulties were thus encountered, the spirit of invention was gradually called into successful action. In the early stage of society—the hunter period—mankind from necessity spreads with the greatest rapidity; for eight hundred acres of hunting ground, it has been calculated, do not produce more food than half an acre of arable land. Thus, even at a very early period, the least fertile parts of

the earth may have become inhabited ; and when, upon the partial exhaustion of game, the state of pasturage succeeded, mankind, already scattered in hunter tribes, may soon have multiplied to the extent compatible with the pastoral condition. In this manner may a continuous continent, in a comparatively short period, have become peopled ; but even the smallest islands, however remote from continents, have, with very few exceptions, as for instance St. Helena, been invariably found inhabited by man,—a phenomenon susceptible of satisfactory explanation.

The oft-observed circumstance of the *drifting of canoes to vast distances*, affords, without doubt, an adequate explanation of the fact, (on the supposition that the human family has had one common source,) that of the multitude of islets of coral and volcanic origin, in the vast Pacific, capable of sustaining a few families of men, very few have been found untenanted. As navigators have often picked up frail boats in the ocean, containing people who had been driven five hundred, one thousand, and even fifteen hundred miles from their home, there is nothing in the relative position of America that forbids the supposition of a transatlantic or transpacific origin of its aborigines. A number of such instances are related by Lyell, on the authority of Cook, Forster, Kotzebue, and Beechy. A Japanese junk, even so late as the year 1833, was wrecked on the north-west coast of America, at Cape Flattery, and several of the crew reached the shore safely. Numberless instances of this kind might be cited. In 1799, a small boat containing three men, which was driven out to sea, by stress of weather, from St. Helena, reached the coast of South America in a month, one of the men having perished on the voyage. In 1797, twelve negroes escaping from a slave ship on the coast of Africa, who took to a boat, were drifted, after having been the sport of wind and wave for five weeks, ashore at Barbadoes. Three natives of Ulea reached one of the coral isles of Radack, having been driven, during a boisterous voyage of eight months, to the amazing distance of fifteen hundred miles. The native missionaries, traveling among the different Pacific insular groups, frequently meet with their countrymen who have been drifted in like manner.

Thus has the earth been widely peopled in the earliest periods of society ; and in later times, as some nations became maritime, important discoveries were made by accident. In the year 862, Iceland was discovered by some mariners bound for the Feroe Islands, who had been thrown out of their course by tempests. The discovery of America by the Northmen was accidental ; and so was the discovery of Brazil, in the year 1500, by a Portuguese

fleet, which, in its route to the East Indies, departed so far from the African coast, in order to avoid certain winds, as to encounter the western continent.

In our researches into the origin of the varieties of mankind, it is necessary to dismiss all argument *à priori*. Let us repudiate that speciousness of argumentation which maintains that it is much more consonant with the wisdom of the Deity that each region of the earth should teem *ab initio* with vegetable and animal productions adapted to its physical circumstances, than that immense tracts, while a single species is slowly extending its kind, should remain for ages an unoccupied waste. The question, as here viewed, belongs to the domain of natural history, and especially to physiology and psychology, as based upon the observation of facts. Hence, too, it is obviously improper to set out, as most writers on the subject have done, with a distribution of the human family into certain races, as this is in fact a premature anticipation of the result. It is only by proceeding in the analytical method, surveying the ethnography* of various countries, and deducing conclusions from the phenomena collected, that the subject can be legitimately investigated.

As it is necessary in every scientific inquiry to have a clear idea of all the terms employed, it may be well to state that by the term *species*, in natural history, is understood a collection of individuals, whether plants or animals, which so resemble one another, that all the differences among them may find an explanation in the known operation of physical causes; but if two races are distinguished by some characteristic peculiarity of organization not explicable on the ground that it was lost by the one or acquired by the other, through any known operation of physical causes, we are warranted in the belief that they have not descended from the same original stock. Hence, *varieties*, in natural history, are distinguished from *species* by the circumstance of mere deviation from the character of the parent stock; but to determine whether tribes characterized by certain diversities constitute in reality distinct species, or merely varieties of the same species, is often a question involving much doubt,—a doubt which can, however, be generally removed by a comprehensive survey of the great laws of organization.

Species is defined by Buffon—"A succession of similar indi-

* The term *ethnography*, derived from *ethnos*, nation, and *γραφω*, I write, is generally restricted to mean the classification of nations from the comparative study of languages; or, in other words, it is comparative philology. But throughout this article we use it in a more extended sense. We shall speak not only of *philological* but *physiognomical ethnography*.

viduals which reproduce each other." By Cuvier—"The union of individuals descended from each other, or from common parents, and of those who resemble them as much as they resemble each other." He adds—"The apparent differences of the races of our domestic species are stronger than those of any species of the same genus.—The fact of the *succession*, therefore, and of the *constant succession*, constitutes alone the *unity of the species*."

The natural history of man in regard to his diversities may receive valuable elucidation from comparative physiology, as well as the laws of the distribution and migration of plants and inferior animals. So similar is the physical organization of man and the brute creation, so identical are the laws whereby their species are preserved, and so analogous is their subjection to the operation of natural causes, to the laws of morbid influences, and to the agency of those artificial combinations resulting from domestication and civilization,—that we have, says Wiseman, "almost a right to argue from one's actual, to the other's possible modifications." The geographic distribution of inferior animals, as connected with that of man, is deemed of importance, on the presumption that the great diversity and the dispersion of the human race are regulated by some general plan, analogous to that which is apparent in the distribution of the former.

But unfortunately the full investigation of the branch of the subject connected with plants and inferior animals alone, would more than occupy the space allotted to this article. Suffice it to say, that in the geographical distribution of plants we discover an analogy to that of man's dispersion. Of the means provided by nature for the distribution of plants, one of the most obvious is human agency, to which animals in general, and especially birds, also contribute. The same end is promoted by means of atmospheric currents; for we often find the smallest seeds provided with winglets and feathery appendages, which facilitate their transportation by winds. We also know from actual observation that plants have migrated from distant coasts by means of the great oceanic currents.

In reference to the *dispersion of animals*, the inference is equally obvious that each species of animal had an original centre of existence, to which it was by nature peculiarly adapted, and from which point they have dispersed themselves in proportion to their capabilities of enduring a change of physical circumstances. For example, notwithstanding the adaptation of birds for extensive migration, we find distinct zoological provinces. Thus, in regard to the vulture tribes, we discover peculiarities in Europe and Ame-

rica, while in New-Holland they are entirely unknown; and as respects the parrot tribes found in Asia, Africa, and America, they are each peculiar. It is chiefly in the arctic regions, where the two continents approximate, as was remarked by the Count de Buffon, that we find the same identical species of animals common to both.

We will now proceed to the main object of the inquiry before us—*Do the various races of man belong to a single species?* We will endeavor to point out the most important diversities by which the human family is distinguished, as we find them separated into different races, and to determine whether these races are merely varieties of one, or constitute distinct species.

In the general classification of mankind, we find that nearly every author has some peculiar views. Thus, while Cuvier makes the distinction of three races, Malte-Brun has no less than sixteen. As the division of Blumenbach, consisting of five varieties, namely, the Caucasian, Mongolian, American, Ethiopian, and Malay, is the one most generally adopted, it may be well to present here their general distinguishing characters. Among the principal characteristics, those of the skull are most striking and distinguishing. It is on the configuration of the bones of the head that the peculiarity of the countenance chiefly depends. Although, as previously remarked, the various families of man run into each other by imperceptible gradations; yet, in the typical examples of these five primary divisions, a very marked difference is observable.

(1.) In the *Caucasian* race, the head is more globular than in the other varieties, and the forehead is more expanded. The face has an oval shape nearly on a plane with the forehead and cheek bones, which last project neither laterally nor forward, as in other races; nor does the upper jaw bone, which has a perpendicular direction, to which the lower jaw corresponds, give a projecting position to the front teeth, as in the other varieties. The chin is full and rounded. This variety is *typically* characterized by a white skin, but it is susceptible of every tint, and in some nations is almost black; and the eyes and hair are variable, the former being mostly blue, and the latter yellow or brown and flowing. It is the nations with this cranial formation that have attained the highest degree of civilization, and have generally ruled over the others; or rather, as we will attempt to show more fully, it is among these nations that the progress of civilization and the development of the anterior portion of the brain, each exercising on the other a mutual influence, have gone hand in hand. Of this variety of the human race, the chief families are the Caucasians

proper, the Germanic branch, the Celtic, the Arabian, the Lybian, the Nilotic, and the Hindostanic.

(2.) In the *Mongolian* variety, the head, instead of being globular, is nearly square. The cheek bones project from under the middle of the orbit of the eye, and turn backward in a remarkable outward projection of the zygoma. The orbits are large and deep, the eyes oblique, and the upper part of the face exceedingly flat; the nose, the nasal bones, and even the space intermediate to the eyebrows, being nearly on the same plane with the cheek bones. The color of this variety is olive or yellowish brown, and the hair is blackish and scanty. This variety of the human family has formed vast empires in China and Japan, but its civilization has been long stationary. It has spread over the whole of Central and Northern Asia, being lost among the American polar race, the Esquimaux, on the one hand, and the Caucasian Tartars on the other. Extending to the Eastern Ocean, it comprehends the Japanese, the Coreans, and a large portion of the Siberians. On the south, its limits seem to be bounded by the Ganges, while in the eastern peninsula, it is only in the lower castes that the Mongolian features predominate over the Indo-Caucasian.

(3.) The *Ethiopian* variety, which recedes the furthest from the Caucasian, presents a narrow and elongated skull, the temporal muscles, which are very large and powerful, rising very high on the parietal bones, thus giving the idea of lateral compression. The forehead is low and retreating. The cheek bones and the upper jaw project forward, and the alveolar ridge and the teeth take a similar position. The nose is thick, being almost blended with the cheeks; the mouth is prominent and the lips thick, and the chin is narrow and retracted. The color varies from a deep tawny to a perfect jet; and the hair is black, frizzled, and woolly. In disposition, the negro is joyous, flexible, and indolent. The whole of the African continent, with the exception of the parts north and east of the Great Desert, is overspread by the different branches of this type. Besides which, they are found in New-Holland, New-Guinea, the Moluccas, and other islands. It is not true, as is remarked by M. Cuvier and others, that the people composing this race have always remained in a state of barbarism. On the contrary, facts will be adduced in the sequel showing that many negro tribes have made considerable advances in civilization, and that in proportion to this improvement do they approximate to the physical characters of the Caucasian.

These three varieties constitute the leading types of mankind, the American and Malay being no more than mere intervening shades.

(4.) In the *American* variety, the head, though similar to the *Mongolian*, is yet less square, and the face less flattened. The forehead is low, the eyes black and deep set, and the nose large and aquiline. The skin is dark and more or less red; the hair is black, straight, and long, and the beard deficient. They are slow in acquiring knowledge, and averse to mental cultivation. Restless and revengeful, they always evince a fondness for war; but as regards the spirit of maritime adventure, they are wholly destitute. As exhibiting the highest point of attainable civilization, the ancient empires of Peru, Mexico, and Central America generally, may be considered analogous to those of China and India, which have been for ages stationary.

As regards the complexion of this variety, the usual designation of "*copper-colored*" is considered by Dr. M'Culloch as wholly inapplicable to the Americans as a race; and he proposes the term "*cinnamon-colored*." Dr. Morton thinks that, taken collectively, they would be most correctly designated as the "*brown race*." He adds—"Although the Americans possess a pervading and characteristic complexion, there are occasional and very remarkable deviations, including all the tints from a decided white to an unequivocally black skin."

(5.) As the *American* variety seems to form a middle point between the *Caucasian* and *Mongolian*, so may the *Malay* be said to hold a similar relation to the *Caucasian* and *Ethiopian*. The forehead is more expanded than in the *African*, the jaws are less prominent, and the nose more distinct. The color is blackish brown, or mahogany; the hair is long, coarse, and curly, and the eyelids are drawn obliquely upward at the outer angles. Active and ingenious, this variety possesses all the habits of a migratory, predacious, and maritime people. They are found in Malacca, Sumatra, the innumerable islands of the Indian Archipelago, and the great Pacific Ocean, from Madagascar to Easter Island.

To these great races, more especially the first three, it has been customary to refer all the ramifications of the human family. Taking the country of the Georgians and Circassians as the radiating point of the *Caucasian* race, we may trace out its principal branches by the analogies of language. The *Armenian* or *Syrian* division, directing its course to the south, gave birth to the *Assyrians*, *Chaldeans*, and untamable *Arabs*, with their various subdivisions. In this branch, science and literature have occasionally flourished, but always under fantastic forms. Another division embraced the *Indian*, *German*, and *Pelasgic* branch, in whose four principal languages we recognize a striking resemblance. The

first is the Sanscrit, now the sacred language of the Hindoos ; the second is the Pelasgic, the common mother of the Greek and Latin, and of almost every language now spoken in the south of Europe ; thirdly, the Gothic or Teutonic, from which arose the German, Dutch, English, Danish and Swedish languages, and their dialects ; and fourthly, the Slavonian, from which are derived the Russian, Polish, Bohemian, etc. This division is the most respectable branch of the Caucasian variety ; for among them have philosophy, the arts and sciences, been carried to a degree of perfection unknown to any other race.

This ethnographic inquiry has been of late years followed up with much industry, tracing out the analogies of languages into their most minute ramifications. Much credit is due to Prichard for his indefatigable researches in this respect in regard to Europe, Asia, and Africa ; but it too often happens that the affinities of languages in the last two are not sufficiently known to lead to undoubted results. Prichard, however, thinks that languages, of all peculiar endowments, are the most permanently retained, and that it can be shown that they have often survived even very considerable changes in physical and moral characters.

One thing, however, is certain, namely, that the researches of modern ethnographers have rendered in the highest degree probable, what all of our readers of course already believe—that *the language of man was originally one*. “Instead of being perplexed with a multiplicity of languages,” says Wiseman, “we have now reduced them to certain very large groups, each comprising a very great variety of languages formerly thought to be unconnected, and thus representing, as it were, only one human family originally possessing a single idiom. Now every succeeding step has clearly added to this advantage, and diminished still further any apparent hostility between the number of languages and the history of the dispersion.” We cannot of course do more than give a glance at this subject, upon which has been written volume upon volume. Even in Africa, according to Wiseman, “the dialects whereof have been comparatively but little studied, every new research displays connections between tribes extended over vast tracts, and often separated by intermediate nations ; in the north between the languages spoken by the Berbers and Tuariks, from the Canaries to the Oasis of Sciva ; in Central Africa, between the dialects of the Felatahs and Foulas, who occupy nearly the whole interior ; in the south, among the tribes across the whole continent, from Caffraria and Mozambique to the Atlantic Ocean.” Among the American race, as the languages are as innumerable as the tribes, it was long

believed to be impracticable to establish any analogies among them, or with those of the eastern continent. Baron Humboldt's assertions respecting the multiplicity of American languages was at first doubted by many in Europe, because the fact was deemed incompatible with the Scripture narrative; "for we cannot suppose each of these tribes, speaking a language totally unintelligible to its neighbors," says Wiseman, "to be lineally descended from one formed at the dispersion, without allowing the strange anomaly, that, of the human families then formed, such countless, yet such insignificant tribes should have wandered to that distance." Of the fact of this multiplicity of tongues among our aborigines, we became acquainted with a striking instance in a camp of friendly Creeks serving in Florida against the Seminoles. An intelligent and educated Creek, named Paddy Carr, commanded a force numbering less than one hundred, which he had gathered from several neighboring villages in the Creek country; and among these, three, if not four, dialects were spoken, peculiar perhaps to one or two villages and their dependencies; and as regards one of these tongues, (the Uchee, we think,) the commanding officer, Major Paddy Carr, was obliged to keep up his communications through an interpreter. But the philosophic Humboldt, to whom the world is so much indebted relative to the languages and monuments of our country, early discovered certain relations among them. "However insulated," he says, "certain languages may at first appear, however singular their caprices and their idioms, all have an analogy among them, and their numerous relations will be more perceived, in proportion as the philosophical history of nations, and the study of languages, shall be brought to perfection." It is now, however, known that they all present the most remarkable resemblances,—an analogy which consists mostly in peculiar conjugational modes of modifying the verbs by the insertion of syllables. "This wonderful uniformity," says Malte-Brun, "in the peculiar manner of forming the conjugation of verbs from one extremity of America to the other, favors in a singular manner the supposition of a primitive people, which formed the common stock of the American indigenous nations." The existence of some American words common with the vocabularies of the old world has been proved. "In eighty-three American languages examined by Messrs. Barton and Vater," says Humboldt, "one hundred and seventy words have been found, the roots of which appear to be the same; and it is easy to perceive that this analogy is not accidental, since it does not rest merely upon imitative harmony, or on that conformity of organs which produces almost a perfect identity

in the first sounds articulated by children." As regards the affinities between these languages and those of Eastern Asia, Malte-Brun advanced a step further, in his endeavor to establish between them what he calls a "geographical connection;" and this resemblance between the languages of the two continents was also regarded by Balbi as too marked to be the result of accident. By Mr. Gallatin, who has bestowed great learning and research upon the Indian languages, the inference that our aboriginal race dates back to the earliest ages of mankind was long since drawn. "While the unity of structure and grammatical forms," he says, "proves a common origin, it may be inferred from this, combined with the great diversity and entire difference in the words of the several languages of America, that this continent received its first inhabitants at a very remote period, probably not much posterior to that of the dispersion of mankind."

The decision of the academy of St. Petersburg upon the general question was, after a long research, that *all languages are to be regarded as dialects of one now lost*. By M. Balbi, the industrious and learned author of the "*Atlas Ethnographique du Globe*,"—a work consisting of charts classifying languages according to ethnographic kingdoms, as he styles them, followed by comparative tables of elementary words in every known language,—the following has been recorded as the result of a whole life spent in these and kindred investigations:—"The books of Moses, no monument, either historical or astronomical, has yet been able to prove false; but with them, on the contrary, agree, in the most remarkable manner, the results obtained by the most learned philologists, and the profoundest geometricians."

This affinity of the Americans with the people of Eastern Asia, notwithstanding the very remote period at which man, in his gradual diffusion, reached our continent, is confirmed by a striking physiognomical resemblance, as well as by many customs, arts, and religious observances.* As regards a resemblance in physical

* Among the numerous facts that might be adduced in illustration, we will mention but a single one; and this one we bring forward because we believe it has been but seldom noticed. We refer to the fact that the Scythians, like our Indians, were in the habit of *scalping* their enemies slain in battle, both regarding these scalps as their proudest trophies. This is related by Herodotus, who also describes the mode of stripping the skin from the head. (*Melpomene*, lxiv.) Besides, the Thracians are described by Homer as having their hair only on the crown of the head; and this custom, as among our Indians, prevails generally among the Mongul nations, the head being shaved, and only a tuft or tress of hair left on the crown. The Caucasian nations, on the other hand, have, in all ages, cherished an abundant growth of hair.

characteristics, the evidence of many travelers, did space allow, might be introduced with much point. Suffice it to add, that the American aboriginal race, being a primitive branch of the human family, cannot be said to be derived from any nation *now existing*; but they are assimilated by so many analogies to the most ancient types of civilization in the eastern hemisphere, that the character of their civilization cannot be regarded as wholly indigenous. This uniformity is apparent in the monuments of these nations, whose temples were pyramids, and whose traditions are interwoven with cosmogonical fables, retaining the relics of primitive history. It thus appears that the same arts, customs, religion, and institutions, carried, in the earliest ages of man's diffusion, into various parts of the globe, as for instance Egypt, China, Hindostan, and America, were subsequently so modified in each, under the influence of causes the most diverse, that we can now discover only an approximation in their general features; and to the agency of these same local causes is to be ascribed, in a great degree, the modification of physical features and of moral and intellectual character, by which the leading varieties of mankind are distinguished.

The bearing of all these facts, as going to establish the Scriptural record in regard to the unity of the human family, cannot fail to impress most favorably the mind of the reader. We will now attempt to reconcile the remarkable diversities of the human family, upon the principle that they are merely varieties of the same species. As we have rendered it sufficiently evident that the primitive human race were originally, in the words of the sacred penman, "*of one lip and one speech*;" so we are equally confident that "*the Ethiopian can change his skin*," in proof of the unity of the human race and its origin from one stock.

Let us first treat of the *phenomena of hybridity*, which have a close relation with the determination of species. An identity of species between two animals, notwithstanding a striking difference in some particulars, has been inferred, as a general rule, if their offspring has been found capable of procreating. Although this doctrine has been generally maintained by our most distinguished naturalists, yet some have rejected it as a hasty generalization. The production of hybrids is a phenomenon observed not only among mammifers, but among birds, fishes, the insect tribes, and the vegetable kingdom; and when we survey the numerous facts opposed to the generally-admitted law of nature that all hybrid productions are sterile, there would seem to be some ground for doubting the soundness of the general conclusion. Thus the dog and the wolf, and the dog and the fox, will breed together, and the

mixed offspring is capable of procreating. And that mules are not always barren, is a fact not unknown even to Aristotle. But as hybrid productions are almost unknown among animals in their wild and unrestrained condition, it would seem that there is a mutual repugnance between those of different species; and thus nature guards against a universal confusion of the different departments of organized creation. Notwithstanding the occasional exceptions to the general fact of the sterility of hybrid productions, it has never been observed that an offspring similar to themselves has proceeded from hybrids of an opposite sex. The offspring of these animals is capable of being continued in successive generations only by returning toward one of the parent tribes. It is thus apparent that the *vis procreatrix* between different species, both in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, is very defective, and that the law of nature which maintains the diversity of tribes in the organized world is not really infringed by the isolated phenomena observed in reference to hybrid productions. That animals generally have the same form and endowments now as at the remotest period of our acquaintance with them, is an opinion confirmed by the oldest historical records, as well as by the works of art, and the actual relics found in Egyptian tombs. The zoological descriptions of Aristotle, composed twenty-two centuries ago, are still faithful to nature in every particular. Hence it would appear that insurmountable barriers to the intermixture of species, at least among wild animals, have been provided by nature, in the instinctive aversion to union with other species, in the sterility of hybrid productions, and in the law of the reproduction of the corporeal and physical characters of the parent in the offspring.

These facts have an important bearing upon the doctrine that mankind constitutes a single species. It is well known to horticulturists and those engaged in breeding domesticated animals, that, by crossing and intermixing varieties, a mixed breed superior in almost every physical quality to the parent races is often produced; and it has also been observed that the intermixture of different races of the human family has produced breeds physically superior, generally speaking, to either ancestral race. Now, as it is a law, according to the high authority of Buffon and Hunter, that those animals of opposite sexes, notwithstanding some striking differences in appearance, whose offspring is equally prolific with themselves, belong to one and the same species, it follows that these facts afford a strong confirmation of the conclusion deduced from many others, namely, that *there is but one human species*; for, as just remarked, while the offspring of distinct species (real hybrids)

are so little prolific that their stock soon becomes extinct, it is found that the mixed offspring of different varieties of the same species generally exceeds the parent races in corporeal vigor and in the tendency of multiplication. This law, however, does not apply to the moral and intellectual endowments; for we find these deteriorated in the European by the mixture of any other race, and, on the other hand, an infusion of Caucasian blood tends in an equal degree to ennoble these qualities in the other varieties of the human family. It is, indeed, an undisputed fact that all the races and varieties of mankind are equally capable of propagating their offspring by intermarriage; and that such connections, when contracted between individuals of the most dissimilar varieties, as for instance the negro and the European, prove, if there is any difference, even more prolific. This tendency to a rapid increase is especially obvious among the so-termed mulattoes of the West Indies, as has been well pointed out by the philosophic Prichard.

It is well remarked by Prichard that perhaps the solution of the problem of the unity of the human family might be safely left on this issue, or considered as obtained by this argument; but, like him, we will proceed to throw more light upon the subject, by a careful analysis of the facts which relate to the nature and origination of varieties.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the diversities exhibited among the various tribes of mankind, we will bring under notice what may be called *accidental* or *congenital* varieties. Among all organized productions, we find variety of form and structure in the same species, and even in the offspring of the same parents; and what is equally remarkable, we discover a tendency to perpetuate in their offspring all individual peculiarities. This constitutes, in some degree, an exception to the general law that animals produce their like,—an exception by which it were easy to explain the present existence of diversified races, originating from the same primitive species, did not a new difficulty arise in the question, having reference to the extent of deviation of structure that may take place without breaking in upon the characteristic type of the species. There are many instances on record in which these accidental varieties have been perpetuated by hereditary transmission. One of the most extraordinary is the recent origination of a new variety of sheep in the state of Massachusetts, called the "*ancon* or *otter breed*," in consequence of the shortness of the limbs and the greater proportionate length of the body, the fore-legs being also crooked. In the year 1791, a male lamb, on the farm of Seth Wright, produced by a ewe of the common kind, was the first ancestor of this

breed ; and his offspring often exhibited the same peculiarity of organization. Finding the animal unable to jump over fences, the propagation of the breed became a desirable object. That the breed is permanent appears from certain facts communicated to the Philosophical Transactions for 1813, by Colonel Humphreys. When both parents are of the otter breed, the lambs produced uniformly inherit the peculiar form, there having been only one case reported as an exception, and that was a questionable one.

Among instances of variety of structure originating in the race of man, which are in like manner propagated through many generations, may be mentioned the oft-observed fact of supernumerary toes or fingers, and corresponding deficiencies. Hence the names of Varus and Plautus among the ancient Romans. Likewise, those peculiar features by which the individuals of some families are characterized ; as, for instance, the singular thickness of the upper lip in the imperial house of Austria, which was introduced three centuries ago by intermarriage. These organic peculiarities are often transmitted to children, even when one of the parents is of the ordinary form, for three and four generations. Hence there is reason to believe that if persons of this organic peculiarity were to intermarry exclusively, we might have a permanent race characterized by six toes or fingers. We have a similar fact in the history of the English family of "porcupine men," in whom the greater part of the body was covered with hard excrescences of a horny nature, which were transmitted hereditarily. These remarks apply equally to those peculiarities of organization which predispose to many diseases, as well as to the transmission of mental and moral qualities, all of which are truly hereditary. It is thus seen that varieties of structure are not always transmitted from first parents, and that when they have once arisen, they become, under favorable circumstances, permanent in the stock.

In considering the diversities presented by the human family, the most natural arrangement would be to treat first of differences of structure, then of the physical functions, and lastly of the psychological phenomena. We will, in the first place, speak of—

Varieties in color or complexion.—As we have already represented the five varieties of Blumenbach as merely typical examples of extreme diversity, which run imperceptibly the one into the other, we will proceed to show that these typical characteristics, as the color of the skin, the color and texture of the hair, etc., become so modified, altered, and evanescent, that to draw an absolute line of demarcation among five, or any other number of varieties of the human family, is totally impossible. The negro and the

European are the two extremes, which, as in every other particular in which the various tribes of human kind differ, pass into each other by insensible gradations. The terms *white* and *black* races, can be used only in the general sense of Caucasian and Ethiopian varieties. The complexion implies no distinction of species; for it can be readily shown that in this respect the African tribes vary much,—that the American aboriginals exhibit the extremes of white and black,—and that even the Caucasians, generally characterized as white, present nations decidedly black. In the frontispiece to the third volume of Prichard's "Researches into the Physical History of Man" we have a striking specimen of a black Caucasian, being a portrait of Rahomun Roy, "a Brahmin of undoubtedly pure race." Among the Arabs, according to the country they inhabit, we discover the extremes of complexion. "The general complexion of the Shegya Arabs," says Mr. Waddington, "is a jet black." "The Shegya," he adds, "as I have already mentioned, are black—a clear, glossy, jet black, which appeared to my then unprejudiced eyes to be the finest color that could be selected for a human being. They are distinguished in every respect from the negroes by the brightness of their color; by their hair and the regularity of their features; by the mild and dewy lustre of their eyes; and by the softness of their touch, in which last respect they yield not to Europeans." As the Arabs on the Nile do not intermarry with the natives, as appears by the accounts given by Burckhardt and Ruppell, the blackness of their complexion can be ascribed to climate alone. In more northern, and particularly in more elevated regions, the hue of the Arab's skin is not less fair than that of the European. "The Arab women," says Bruce, "are not black; there are even some exceedingly fair." Even among the American tribes, known the world over as the "red man," the most remarkable diversities of complexion are presented, varying from a decided white to an unequivocally black skin. Of so deep a hue are the Californians that La Prouse compares them to the negroes in the West Indies. "The complexion of the Californians," he says, "very nearly resembles that of those negroes whose hair is not woolly." In contrast to these black Californians, we have, on our north-west coast, tribes with skins as white as the complexion of the natives of Southern Europe. Captain Dixon describes a female whose "countenance had all the cheerful glow of an English milk-maid, and the healthy red which flushed her cheek was even beautifully contrasted with the whiteness of her neck; her forehead was so remarkably clear that the translucent veins were seen meandering even in the minutest

branches." Among the Otaheitans, who have been long celebrated for their personal beauty, the skin of the lower orders has a brown tint, which becomes so gradually lost in those of a superior caste, that the complexion in the higher ranks is nearly white, or at least but slightly tinged with brown. On the cheek of the women a blush may be readily observed. The usual color of the hair is black, but it is of a fine texture, and not unfrequently brown, flaxen, and even red. Of the natives of the Marquesas, it has been said that "in form they are, perhaps, the finest in the world," and that their skin is naturally "very fair;" while in the color of their hair, all the various shades found in the different tribes of the Caucasian race are exhibited.

By those who hold that the negro is of a distinct species from our own, much stress has always been laid upon the national differences of the human hair. As regards the *hair, beard, and color of the iris*, we observe, indeed, strongly-marked varieties, all these having a relation with the color of the skin. While the head of the Caucasian race is adorned with an ample growth of fine locks, and his face with a copious beard, the negro's head presents short, woolly knots, and that of the American or Mongolian, coarse and straight hair, all having nearly beardless faces; and with this diminution of the beard is combined a general smoothness of the whole body. That the coloring principle in the skin and hair is of a common nature, is evident from the fact, that among the white races every gradation from the fair to the dark is accompanied by a corresponding alteration in the tint of the hair. This remark applies equally to the colored varieties of men, for all these have black hair; but among the spotted Africans, according to Blumenbach, the hairs growing out of a white patch on the head are white. These facts, in connection with others observed among inferior animals, as the dog, sheep, and goat, prove sufficiently that a distinction of species cannot be established on the mere difference in the hair.

That the physical characters of nations have certain relations to climate, is an opinion warranted by facts, the erudite arguments of Lawrence to the contrary notwithstanding. Our remarks here, however, will be restricted mostly to the single question relative to the human complexion. The limits of Negroland, properly so called, seem to be confined to the intertropical regions of Africa. Now, if we proceed southward of Central Africa, we find the hue of the negro grow less black, as in the Caffres and Hottentots; and, on the other hand, we discover the same law north of the tropic of Cancer. Although some of the tribes in the Oases of the Great

Desert are said to be black, yet they are generally brown, or almost white; and when we reach the second system of highlands, which has a temperate climate, the inhabitants present the flowing hair and complexion of the southern Europeans. This general law, if the comparison is extended to Europe, is confirmed. On comparing the three elevated tracts bounding and containing between them the Mediterranean and the Great Sahara, we find that the intermediate region (Mount Atlas) differs much less from the northern, (the Alps and Pyrenees,) than from the southern chain, (the Lunar Mountains.) The same law is evident in each, as respects vegetation and the physical characters of the human races. While the mountains of Central Africa are inhabited by negroes, the Berbers of Mount Atlas show but little difference of physical characters when compared with the Spaniards and Piedmontese. For the purpose of more extended comparison, Prichard divides Europe and Africa into eight zones, through which he traces a gradation in the physical characters of the human race. Within the tropics, as just observed, the inhabitants, if we confine ourselves to the low and plain countries, are universally black. South of this region are the red people of Caffreland; and, next to these, are the yellowish brown Hottentots. North of Negroland are the "*gentes subfusci coloris*" of Leo,—tribes of a brownish hue, but varying from this shade to a perfect black. The next zone is the region of the Mediterranean, including Spaniards, Moors, Greeks, Italians, etc., among whom we find black hair, dark eyes, and a brownish white complexion, predominant features. In the zone north of the Pyreno-Alpine line, the color of the hair is generally chestnut brown, to which that of the skin and eyes bears a certain relation. Next come the races characterized by yellow hair, blue eyes, and a florid complexion, such as those of England, Denmark, Finland, the northern parts of Germany, and a great portion of Russia. And north of these are the Swedes and Norwegians, distinguished by white hair and light gray eyes.

It were desirable that Prichard had proceeded still further north, and told us why the Laplanders, Greenlanders, Esquimaux, Samoides, etc., have a very dark complexion. This fact has always been a stumbling block in the way of the advocates of a connection between climate and the human complexion. By them it has been referred to their food, consisting of fish and rancid oil, to the grease and paint with which they besmear the body, aided by the clouds of smoke in which they sit constantly involved in their wretched cabins. The agency of these causes is strongly advocated by Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith, who also refers to Blumenbach, Fourcroy,

and J. F. Meckel, who concur in the opinion, that from the affinity of the bile with the fat or oil of the animal body, nations that subsist chiefly on food consisting of animal oil, not only smell of it, but acquire a very dark complexion. But these northern tribes have the olive complexion, the broad large face and flat nose, and the other features which characterize the Mongolian variety. Hence Lawrence maintains that the distinguishing characters of the German and French, or the Esquimaux or more southern Indians, find no explanation in climatic influences. On the contrary, he ascribes the peculiarities of these northern pigmies to the same cause that makes the Briton and German of this day resemble the portraits of their ancestors, drawn by Cæsar and Tacitus. The French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italians, belong, he says, to the Celtic race, whose black hair and browner complexion are distinguished from the blue eyes and fair skin of the German tribes, which include the Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, English, modern Germans, etc. As the Jews have been scattered for ages over the face of the whole earth, and as the race has been kept uncommonly pure by the most sacred prohibitions against intermarriage with strangers, it might be supposed that here is presented a case decisive of the question at issue. "In Britain and Germany," says the Rev. Dr. S. S. Smith, "they are fair, brown in France and in Turkey, swarthy in Portugal and Spain, olive in Syria and Chaldeia, tawny or copper-colored in Arabia and Egypt." Besides, a tribe of Jews, according to Buffon, was discovered in India, known to be of the stock of Israel, by the Hebrew Pentateuch preserved among them from time immemorial, who had become as black as the natives. This swarthiness, it is true, is ascribed by Lawrence to the effect of the sun's action upon the individual, whose children, he says, will have the original complexion of the race; and in the instance of the black Jews, he finds an explanation in their intermarriage with the Hindoos. But, we have just seen the arguments of Prichard on the affirmative side, and these we regard as incontrovertible.

That climate exercises an influence in causing diversity of color, is an opinion likewise strengthened by the analogy of inferior animals. As we approach the poles, we find everything progressively assume a whiter livery, as bears, foxes, hares, falcons, crows, and blackbirds; while some animals, as the ermine, weasel, squirrel, rein-deer, and snow-bunting, change their color to gray or white, even in the same country, as the winter season advances.

We thus discover a marked relation between the physical characters of nations and climate as expressed by latitude,—a law that

obtains equally in the modification of climate induced by elevation. Thus the sandy or brown hair of the Swiss contrasts strongly with the black hair and eyes of those that dwell below on the plains of Lombardy. Among the natives of the more elevated parts of the Biscayan country, the black hair and swarthy complexion of the Castilians give place to light blue eyes, flaxen hair, and a fair complexion. In the northern parts of Africa, we observe the same law as regards the Berbers of the plains and the Shulah mountaineers. And even in the intertropical region of Africa, several examples are adduced by Prichard.

Hence it is obvious, that in no point of view can the facts presented in reference to the complexion and the hair be reconciled with the hypothesis, that the negro constitutes a distinct species, inasmuch as we do not find in any department of nature that separate species of organization ever pass into each other by insensible degrees. We will add a few facts in regard to the so-called woolly hair, which is not wool in fact, but merely a curled and twisted hair. This has been proved by microscopic observation, upon the well-known law, that the character which distinguishes wool from hair consists in the serrated nature of its external surface, giving to it its felting property.

Although the shape of the head among the South African tribes differs in a degree corresponding to the extent of their civilization, yet it would seem that the crisp and woolly state of the hair, notwithstanding the complexion is considerably lighter than among the tribes of Central Africa, experiences no modification. The Cafres, for example, who have black and woolly hair, with a deep brown skin, have the high forehead and prominent nose of the Europeans, with projecting cheek bones and thickish lips. This tribe, as well as the Jolofs near the Senegal, scarcely differ from Europeans, with the exception of the complexion and woolly hair. Other tribes, as for instance the darkest of the Abyssinians, approximate the Europeans still more, in the circumstance that the hair, though often crisp and frizzled, is never woolly. Again: some of the tribes near the Zambesi, according to Prichard, have hair in rather long and flowing ringlets, notwithstanding the complexion is black, and the features have the negro type. The civilized Mandingos, on the other hand, have a cranial organization differing much from that of their degraded neighbors, yet in respect to the hair there is no change. A similar observation applies to the natives of the islands in the great Southern Ocean.

This peculiarity of the hair would be regarded by Prichard as a *permanent* variety, which "differs from species," he says, "in this

circumstance, that the peculiarities in question are not coeval with the tribe, but sprang up in it since the commencement of its existence, and constitute a deviation from its original character." The so-termed woolly hair of the negro may perhaps be, with good reason, classed among the *accidental* or *congenital* diversities of mankind, which are transmitted from the parent to the offspring. This would certainly not be more extraordinary than the phenomenon of the *otter breed* of sheep, which occurred in New-England. Such peculiarities in an individual, at a remote and unknown period, may have readily become the characteristics of a whole nation; for then mankind, few in numbers, were dispersing themselves in detached bodies over the face of the earth; and we can easily comprehend how, in the event of the occurrence of any peculiarity of color, form, or structure, it would naturally, as society multiplied in these detached bodies, become the characteristics of an entire people. Under existing circumstances, however, or indeed ever since the population of the world has been comparatively large, these peculiarities of organization can extend very little beyond the individuals in whom they first appear, being soon entirely lost in the general mass.

We will now consider the *diversities of form or configuration among mankind*, the most important of which is doubtless the shape of the head as connected with the development of the brain. We have already given a classification of skulls under five general forms, which is of course entirely arbitrary. As in every other corporeal diversity, so we find in regard to crania an imperceptible gradation among the nations of the earth, filling up the interval between the two extremes of the most perfect Caucasian model and the most exaggerated negro specimen. Hence we must conclude that the diversities of skulls among mankind do not afford sufficient ground for a specific difference,—an inference confirmed, as will be seen, by the variations which occur in animals of the same species. We might show conclusively that there is a connection, as in the instance of the varieties of color, between the leading physical characters of human races, (and especially as regards cranial formation,) and the agencies of climate and their habits of existence. This is very apparent in the configuration found in the nomadic and hunter conditions, consisting of the greater relative development of the jaws and zygomatic (cheek) bones; in a word, of the bones of the face altogether, as compared with the size of the brain. That the development of the organs of taste and smell is in an inverse ratio to that of the brain, and consequently to the degree of intelligence, is considered by Bichat as

almost a rule in our organization. By this principle, as an index of those exalted prerogatives which elevate man above the brute, was the Grecian sculptor guided. Although, upon this point, the facial angle of Camper is not an exact test, yet it may be remarked, that in the human race it varies from 65° to 85° , the former being a near approach to the monkey species. Among the remains of Grecian art, we find this angle extended to 90° in the representation of poets, sages, legislators, etc.; thus showing that the relation here referred to was not unknown to them; while, at the same time, the mouth, nose, jaws, and tongue, were contracted in size, as indicative of a noble and generous nature. In the statues of their gods and heroes, the Greeks gave a still greater exaggeration to the latter, and reduction to the former characteristics, thus extending the forehead over the face, so as to make a facial angle of 100° . It is this that gives to their statuary its high character of sublime beauty. Even among the vulgar, we find the idea of stupidity associated with an elongation of the snout.

But this subject leads us off to the phenomena which refer to the higher principles of life, concerning which we are allowed by our limits to state simply the conclusion of our investigations, namely, that there is an intimate connection between physical features and moral and intellectual character, both of which are influenced by local causes.

As regards man's *average stature, the size and proportions of his trunk and limbs, and the relations of different parts*, it has been inferred by some that these varieties, in connection with other diversities, constitute distinctive characters sufficient to class the human family under several separate species. It has been asserted, for instance, that in the negro the length of the fore-arm is so much greater than in the European, as to form a real approximation to the character of the ape. This difference, however, is so very slight, compared with the relative length of the arms of the orang and the chimpanzé, that we are not even warranted in the inference, that races long civilized have less of the animal in this respect in their physical conformation than those in the savage state. That uncivilized races have less muscular power than civilized men, is a fact that has been often observed, and one that we can confirm from extensive personal knowledge relative to our aborigines. The experiments of the voyager, Peron, with the *dynamometer*, showed that Frenchmen and Englishmen have a physical superiority compared with the natives of the southern hemisphere. But these diversities are not specific, being merely variations arising from the operation of particular causes; as, for instance, the Hin-

doos, who live on a vegetable aliment exclusively, are less muscular, and have arms and legs longer in proportion, than Europeans; and hence, too, the miserable savages, who are never well fed, but are frequently depressed by absolute want, cannot be expected to equal, in physical strength, the industrious and well-fed middle classes of a civilized community. That none of these deviations amount to specific distinctions, is apparent from several unanswerable arguments.

Before considering the physiological and psychological diversities of mankind, we will take a glance at the *phenomena of variation among plants and animals*, which are most remarkably displayed in the cultivated tribes of the former, and the domesticated races of the latter. The best-authenticated examples of the effects produced upon animals by a change of external conditions, are afforded by the modifications developed in certain breeds transported to the new world. These variations have reference to *physical* modifications, such as color, the nature of the integument, and of its covering, whether hair or wool, the proportional size of parts, and the structure of limbs; they likewise involve certain *physiological* changes, and also certain *psychological* alterations in instincts, habits, and powers of perception.

Admitting then that these phenomena of variation are analogous to the diversities which distinguish the various races of the human family, it follows that the latter should present still greater differences; for, while each species of animals inferior to man is mostly confined to a limited region, and to a mode of existence that is simple and uniform, the human races are scattered over the whole face of the earth, under every variety of physical circumstances, in addition to the influences arising from a moral and intellectual nature. It was long ago remarked by Blumenbach, that the difference between the cranium of our swine and that of the primitive wild boar, is quite equal to that observed between the skulls of the negro and of the European. That swine were unknown in America until carried hither from Europe, is a conceded point; and, notwithstanding the comparatively short period that has intervened, there now exist many breeds, exhibiting the most striking peculiarities as compared with one another, or with the original stock. The pigs carried in 1509 from Spain to Cuba degenerated, according to Herera, into a monstrous race, with toes half a span long. They here became more than twice as large as their European progenitors. Again: we find the breed of domestic swine in France, with a high convex spine and hanging head, just the reverse of that of England, with a straight back and pendulous belly. In

Hungary and Sweden we meet a solidungular race. It is also observed by Blumenbach, "that there is less difference in the form of the skull in the most dissimilar of mankind, than between the elongated head of the Neapolitan horse and the skull of the Hungarian breed, which is remarkable for its shortness and the extent of the lower jaw."

We will now conclude this article with a brief consideration of man's physiological and psychological diversities. The *physiological* comparison of human races has reference to those laws of the animal economy which are connected with reproduction, such as the times and frequency of breeding, (the period of gestation in mammalia, and that of sitting on eggs in birds,) as well as the number of progeny produced at a time, and the period of suckling or watching over the offspring: and to the same laws belong the progress of physical development and decay, and also the different changes which the constitution experiences at particular ages, the periods of adult growth and of greatest vigor and decline, and the total duration of life,—all of which, notwithstanding irregular as regards individuals, preserve a definite rule relative to species.

Here again we must confine ourselves to mere conclusions. From an extensive survey of various nations in reference to the proportionate *duration of human life*, it is evident that there exist no well-marked differences in this respect among the different families of men. As all nations have the tendency to exist for a given time—the threescore and ten of the Hebrew nation—they appear thus also as *one* species. The duration of life, however, varies from the influence of external causes in different climates upon the animal economy; but, at the same time, individuals removed to a new climate acquire in successive generations a gradual physical adaptation to its local conditions. Thus the natives of the western coast of Africa and of the West Indies, notwithstanding the destructiveness of these climates to Europeans, sustain comparatively little inconvenience. As the cells of the camel's stomach show a wonderful adaptation of organic structure to local conditions, without being referable to climatic agency, so the system of the negro, as his skin is a much more active organ of depuration than that of the white man, is better adapted, let the remote cause be what it may, to the warm, moist, and miasmial climates of the tropics.

If the comparison as regards the duration of human life, however, is extended to the simiæ, notwithstanding their very close approximation to man in physical structure, the contrast is very great. As the greatest longevity of the troglodyte (an ape that

most nearly resembles man) is no more than thirty years, we thus perceive, more especially when also we consider that all the monkey tribes, in their natural state, are confined almost wholly to the intertropical zone, the close relation of what are generally regarded as extreme diversities among the human races. As we discover no difference in this respect between the negro and the European, there is little ground for introducing, as was done by Linnæus, Buffon, Helvetius, and Monboddo, the orang-outang into the human family. Moreover, we find as attributes common both to the negro and the European, the erect attitude, the two hands, the slow development of the body, and the exercise of reason. On the other hand, the whole structure of the monkey, who is four-handed, proves that to him the erect attitude is not natural. The striking characteristics of the predominance of the fore-arm over the upper arm, and the great length of the upper and the shortness of the lower limbs, are peculiarly adapted to his climbing habits. The majestic attitude of man, which announces to all the other inhabitants of the globe his superiority, has been, ever since the beautiful and unequalled description of Ovid, the theme of many an able pen.

The last subject that we shall treat of is a *comparison of human races with respect to mental endowments*. This is designated *psychology*,—a term which comprehends not only the history of the mental faculties, but also an account of those faculties in inferior animals which most nearly resemble the mental endowments of man. Here, again, we must call to aid our favorite author, Dr. Prichard. As it is an admitted law that the instincts of no two separate species bear an exact resemblance to each other, that is, they do not precisely resemble each other in those internal principles, of which their actions and habits are the outward signs and manifestations,—it follows, that should it appear, on inquiry, that the whole human family are characterized by one common mind or psychical nature, a strong argument, on the ground of analogy, for their community of species and origin would be afforded. On a first view of this question—when the mind's eye surveys, on the one hand, a Newton in his study, or a Davy in his laboratory, and, on the other hand, a Bushman or an Australian in a state the most savage and morally degraded,—or let the *coup d'œil* take in, at the same time, the brilliant spectacle of the coronation of a European monarch and that of the dancing and barbarous music known to the aboriginals of America or of Negroland,—under the view of these circumstances, we say that most persons would be disposed at once to adopt the negative side of this inquiry; but when we come to

trace the history of man from ancient times, we first become aware what changes time and circumstances have effected in his moral and intellectual nature. In this, in truth, lies the grand distinction between man and inferior animals, the latter being characterized by a uniformity of habits in successive generations, and the latter by variations in the same, either tending to improvement, or to alternate periods of improvement with reverses and retrograde changes.

There are in truth fixed principles of human action, which may be regarded as typical of the whole human family. The universal employment of conventional speech among men, contrasted with its total absence among inferior animals, is one of the most remarkable characteristics of humanity; and this difference serves to distinguish the two in an eminent degree, implying that mankind, who possess it universally as well as exclusively, are endowed with a common nature and origin. To the same category of exclusive characteristics belong the use of fire and of artificial clothing, and the arts in general; but the use of conventional language, as well as all the arts and sciences which ennoble and dignify human nature, are only certain outward manifestations of that internal agency which constitutes its distinctive attribute. It is in the characteristic phenomena of this principle, as compared with the psychical nature of the lower animals, that we must seek the line of distinction.

Among the psychological phenomena peculiar to human beings, these are certainly the most remarkable; and they serve, in a corresponding degree, to distinguish man, in his inward nature, from the whole life of the lower orders of creation. Dr. Prichard devotes much attention to these psychological phenomena, believing that they express principles which are common to all human races. He attempts to illustrate the psychological history of the most widely-separated races of men; and he attains this end, by bringing under view, in the first place, the most striking and characteristic features relating to the moral and intellectual state, the original superstitions and religious dogmas of uncultivated nations, prior to their acquaintance with the common acquirements of the civilized and Christianized world; and by showing, in the next place, the extent to which these tribes, when civilization and Christianity were brought within their reach, have been found capable of receiving and appropriating their blessings. To effect this purpose, he finds it sufficient to survey two or three of the most diversified races, namely, the nations of the new world and the woolly-haired races of Africa; and these he compares with the nations of Europe and Asia, by way of testing the truth of his theory.

These conclusions can be readily established by abundant historical testimony relative to the superstitious notions of these people in their primitive state, and the facts connected with their conversion to Christianity and civilized habits, as is done by Prichard from the writings of Loskiel, who resided many years among the Delaware Indians, and from those of M. Lesson, who possessed an equally extensive and accurate knowledge of the natives inhabiting Greenland and Labrador; and the same deductions are confirmed by the history of those polished and cultivated, but now extinct, races, which inhabited the central regions of America,—nations that were associated under regular forms of government, having for a prominent feature a *national religion under the direction of a priesthood*. Moreover, we are happy to confirm all this from our own knowledge relative to the Cherokees, many of whom we have known to be thoroughly imbued with the principles and sentiments of the Christian religion. And as the psychological phenomena of these people are in harmony and in strict analogy with those of all other races, it is difficult to suppose such a mind common to different species of organized beings.

We thus contemplate, in surveying the diversified tribes of the human family, the same general internal feelings, propensities, and aversions, as well as the same natural sentiments of subjection to invisible powers, and of accountableness, in a greater or less degree, to unseen agents of retributive justice, from whose dread tribunal even the gates of death are far from promising escape.

As respects the institutions of religion and of civilized life, we also find that nations the most barbarous and sensual are susceptible, some more slowly than others, of becoming molded to them, through those endowments of our mental nature which are universally recognized. Now, as it is admitted, on all hands, that every species of animal organization is characterized by specific instincts and separate psychical endowments, it follows from the preceding facts as an irresistible conclusion, that *all human races are of one species and one family*.

It is thus seen that the lines of demarkation between man and man, which pride and ignorance have ever, and will ever continue to set up, have no foundation in nature. Throughout this investigation into man's organization, all the results coincide in the conclusion that the entire human race have been made upon one model. It is thus that science, by demonstrating that the European and the negro were alike originally endowed with intellectual and moral faculties, gives a firm basis to some of the best principles of morality; and, at the same time, it justifies the eloquent pleadings of

those gifted men, who, with a mental vision far outstretching that of the age in which they lived, have felt impelled to proclaim all human kind to be one great family, entitled alike to equal justice, liberty, and protection.

ART. V.—*History of the Conquest of Mexico, with a Preliminary View of the Ancient Mexican Civilization, and the Life of the Conqueror, Hernando Cortes.* By WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT. In three volumes. New-York : Harper & Brothers. 1843.

TAKING into view all the requisites of a perfect historian, we look upon Mr. Prescott as coming as near to that pre-eminence as any writer in that department of literature in our language. He has no positive defects, and he unites more of the higher attributes essential to the rank we claim for him, than are found united in any one of the great English historians. Without being equal in brilliant eloquence to Gibbon, or in acute philosophy to Hume, or in graceful elegance to Robertson, he is not wanting in either of these qualities, and he is unequaled by either of them, or by any other historian, in fidelity of investigation, honest use of his authorities, clearness in narration, just estimate of his historical personages, and perfect impartiality in delineating their characters. To these peculiar excellences of a historian, he adds one no less important as a writer, that of a finished style, exactly appropriate to his subject, neither too ornate on the one hand, nor jejune on the other—smooth and flowing, but not careless, and sufficiently elevated without being stiff and stately. We seek in vain for perfect models of historical composition in modern literature—they are to be found only in the writings of antiquity—and Mr. Prescott gives the clearest evidence that the study of these has not been neglected by him. Of late the scholars of Germany and their followers have dwelt so much on the philosophy of history, that history, properly so called, has almost entirely given place to philosophical disquisitions upon some memorable event, or period, or personage; and we owe much to the author of *Ferdinand and Isabella* for the practical reclamation he has made in both his works, for history to be restored to its legitimate province, to be allowed to teach its own philosophy, and not to be perverted to the support of fanciful theories. It would be easy to add much to these commendations of Mr. Prescott, were it our purpose now to discuss his general merits

as a historian ; but as it is not, we pass to our more specific object, the examination of his *History of Mexico*.

It was, we confess, with fear and trembling that we took up this last work of our author—not from a distrust of his powers, but from a consciousness of the extravagance of our own and of public expectation. He had the most difficult of positions to maintain, that of a perfectly-successful *débutant* who had burst upon the world in a full blaze of popularity. By the high standard he had himself fixed, he had become his own most dangerous rival—he must go beyond this standard, or he is pronounced to be falling off. He has gone beyond it, and we shall never fear for him again : he has proved that he does possess the extraordinary power of becoming greater than himself, and as long as he lives and writes, we doubt not he will do it. In point of subject, the advantage was vastly in favor of his first historical effort, and there was the charm of a feat of chivalry in his taking it up : it was like a gallant foreign knight taking up the glove for some injured princess who had found no defender among her own cavaliers—he came forward to spread the renown of a beautiful and brilliant queen, whose deeds of glory had not been duly heralded by the writers of her own nation and language. The story too was as grand as it was new, embracing a period memorable for three great events—the consolidation of the Spanish monarchy, the expulsion of the Moors from Europe, and the discovery of the western continent, the most important of discoveries in the progress of geographical knowledge. And then what mighty personages to give life and grandeur to this story—the magnanimous, heroic Isabella, and her royal consort ; Columbus, the truly sublime adventurer ; Gonsalvo, the great captain ; Mendoza, the grand cardinal of Spain ; and Ximenes, his successor, the learned ecclesiastic, the consummate statesman, and the master spirit of his times. No man of ordinary mind would have had the courage to venture upon such themes even under the most favorable circumstances ; and no greater proof could be given of a most energetic and powerful one than was given by Mr. Prescott in undertaking and accomplishing so arduous a labor, under every discouragement of distance from the sources of authentic information, and the various perplexities and embarrassments arising from want of sight, and the necessity of relying upon the eyes of others. In surmounting these difficulties, and thus faithfully recording the great achievements of the most eventful and glorious reign in Spanish history, he has raised his own imperishable monument. There is nothing equivocal or indefinite in the reputation he has thus acquired ; it is not that he has written a pleasing book, and

given great promise as an author, but it is that he has proved himself a historian; for whatever fault criticism may have found with his work, it always ended with this confession. The learned everywhere unite in awarding him this distinction,—in England, in France, in Germany, his claim to it is universally recognized, and even in Spain, where he might have most to fear, he is most honored and commended. The Italian campaigns did not more clearly bear witness to the soldiership of Napoleon, than did the *History of Ferdinand and Isabella* to the adaptation of Mr. Prescott, in mind, talent, and character, to the office of a historian.

With such a reputation at stake, he has again ventured to appear at the bar of public criticism, and he is again met with like, but louder, plaudits. The story of the conquest of Mexico had not the charm of novelty; it had often been told before, but never with the truth, and life, and spirit, and distinctness, as it now comes to us; his admirable narrative of it, we think, is never to be supplanted or superseded by any one that may come after it. By referring to his materials it will be perceived, that no known original authority, or printed volume, which could throw light upon his subject, has been neglected by him,—the conqueror's own letters, the testimony of the eye-witnesses, honest Bernal Diaz and the chaplain Gomara, the contemporary Spanish historian Sahagun, the Tezcucan Ixtlilxochitl, the Tlascalcan Camargo, De Solis, Herrera, and the other Spanish writers, are all consulted, compared, and sifted for the facts upon which he builds his own stable fabric; and it is not only a *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, it is also a history of the people who were conquered, or rather a view of the condition in which they were found, and the progress they had made in civilization when first visited by Europeans, and in the Appendix he gives a shorter essay on the origin of this civilization. These we must first consider.

In this part of his work, particularly the introductory view of the Aztec civilization, Mr. Prescott may safely challenge all competition; he has spared no pains in searching into it, and has condensed the fruits of his labor into the compass of half a volume, which would have furnished rich materials for three. In that half volume he imparts more and clearer information upon the subject, than could elsewhere be obtained by a year's reading, or in fact could be obtained at all. Being derived from the best authorities, and having past the ordeal of his scrutiny, it may be relied upon as authentic, if anything upon such a question can be so. From this account we make the following summary:—

It is well known, that two distinct, but probably kindred races,

successively occupied that portion of the Mexican state which was the theatre of Cortes' conquests—the Toltecs, who arrived there in the seventh century, and continued until the eleventh; and the Aztecs, who followed them after the lapse of a hundred years or more. The latter, after wandering about for a long time in the Mexican valley, at last fixed their abode on the south-west shore of the lake, and in the year 1325 founded the city of Tenochtitlan, since known by the name of Mexico. Whence they came has never been learned, either from tradition or otherwise, and nothing more of their march has been certainly ascertained, than that they approached the borders of Anahuac, as the country was then called, from a north-westerly direction. From the architectural monuments still remaining in the vicinity of the Gulf of Mexico, it may fairly be inferred that the Toltecs were a cultivated people, as many of these monuments bear conclusive marks of being older than the arrival of their successors; but by what calamity their power was destroyed, their edifices ruined, and their settlements broken up, recent as must have been the event, we can now only conjecture. As there were several minor tribes, they may have combined and driven out the stronger, and in their turn, on the arrival of the Aztecs and Tezcucans, been overpowered and merged in one or other of these conquering families. However that may be, it is certain that for the two centuries prior to the Spanish conquest, both the territory and the dominion were chiefly held by these two last-named races. The city of Mexico was founded, as we have seen, in the year 1325, and taken possession of by Cortes in 1519, not quite two centuries afterward. In this short period it attained an extent and magnificence that astonished its conquerors, familiar as they were with their own capitals: nearly the same description applies to Tezcuco, situated on the eastern side of the lake. It is evident that the people who built such cities must have previously made no small progress in the arts of civilized life; and how it is that a people so civilized left no traces of their earlier abodes, or of their path from one abode to another, is an unfathomable mystery, that a further examination into their condition will only serve to increase.

The Aztec state was a regularly-organized elective monarchy, the choice being restricted to the family of the reigning dynasty, first to the brothers, and if none, to the nephews of the last sovereign. The monarch wore a crown, was addressed by a regal title, was the fountain of all honors, lived in a splendid palace, had his council of state, his body guard, and an immense retinue of nobles and dependent vassals bound to render homage and military

service—in short, all the pomp and circumstance of royalty. He was also the sole and supreme lawgiver ; but the laws which he made were enforced by regularly-constituted judicial tribunals, the judges of which, when once appointed, were independent of his will. In all trials the parties appeared in person to state their own case, and no counsel were allowed, that justice might not be perverted or defeated. The laws were severe, all great crimes against society being made capital : intemperance even, if the offender was young, was punished with death ; if old, with the loss of rank or property. The institution of marriage was held in reverence, and a special tribunal established for judging all causes connected with it. Slavery was permitted by their code ; but it was personal only, and not hereditary. No one was born a slave among them, and none were made so except captives, criminals, public debtors, persons who gave up their freedom from poverty, or other like cause, and children sold by their parents. The condition was but little more than personal service, and not one of great hardship, as would naturally be inferred from the last two modes of becoming subjected to it.

Contributions for the exigences of the state were made in various ways—there were crown lands, and taxes on the products of agriculture and manufactures, with tributes, and all such blessings of civilization. Soldiers were stationed in the principal towns to enforce the fiscal laws in case of resistance. They had couriers for the transmission of intelligence from place to place, who, by being trained early, were able to run with great speed ; they were found at regular post-houses, which seems to be an anticipation of Europe in establishing mails, and is the more remarkable, as they had no horses.

As war was made the chief business of life by the Aztecs, the profession of arms was naturally held in great honor. They had a war-god for their protecting divinity, and their king must be a military chieftain. The bravery of the soldier on the battle-field was excited by the strongest inducements—honors from his sovereign if he survived, and an immediate admission to the bright mansions of the sun if he fell. Military orders, with appropriate insignia, were the rewards of martial prowess, and death was the invariable punishment for all delinquencies—for disobedience of authority, desertion of colors, attacking without orders, plundering, and every other violation of a soldier's duty. Hospitals and surgical attendance were provided for the sick and the wounded, and retreats for the permanently-disabled soldiers. They wore a martial dress, and that of the chiefs was very showy, and of sufficient thickness to protect the body against light arrows ; the wealthiest had cuirasses

of gold or silver. Their armies must have been considerable, judging from the large bodies into which they were divided ; eight thousand men constituting a division. Questions of war were discussed by the king and nobles in council, and no open declaration was made until ambassadors had been sent to demand satisfaction and returned unsuccessful. The persons of these ambassadors were sacred, and they were provided for at the public charge. This sketch of the civil and military institutions of the Aztecs will show how nearly they approached to European civilization in the great foundations of society : in pursuing the inquiry, we come upon usages denoting the lowest state of barbarism.

When we look at their religion, for example, we find it full of bloody rites and degrading superstitions, proving how very little any civilization that is not Christian civilization can effect in imparting a knowledge of the true God. It was the same in the most refined ages of Greece and Rome ; their religious worship was a reproach to the human mind. No religion but Christianity has respect to humanity in the worship of the Deity ; and that lies at the foundation of the Christian scheme, in the manifestation of the divine and human nature in the person of its Author, and it is also the direct practical influence of its whole spirit, proclaiming peace on earth, good will to man. Yet the Aztec religion, frightful as it was, was not without some glimmerings of a better faith. It enjoined a belief in a supreme Creator and Governor of the universe, and invoked him as an omnipotent, omniscient, invisible, and spiritual being : it taught also a belief in a future existence and state of retribution, in which the wicked were to make expiation for sin, and the heroes who fell in battle to be received into the presence of the sun, and their spirits after a time to pass into clouds and singing birds, and revel amid the flowers and perfumes of paradise. An intermediate condition was assigned to another class, of mere negative, indolent existence, without suffering and without enjoyment. It inculcated many precepts of excellent morality ; it made almsgiving a duty, and it provided for the education of youth. By the latter the priests took care to perpetuate their own influence, as it was exclusively intrusted to them. Confession and absolution were practiced as in the Romish Church, in connection with which two peculiar usages are worthy of note. After confession, the repetition of the same offense was inexpiable, and absolution made full satisfaction for crime, and when given, no other punishment could be inflicted. Their religion throughout was one of burdensome ceremonies, their priesthood an army of human butchers, and their temples of worship altars of sacrifice for hecatombs of human vic-

tims. How brutal and revolting were these sacrifices, may best be learned from the following account of our author:—

“One of their most important festivals was that in honor of the god Tezcatlipoca, whose rank was inferior only to that of the Supreme Being. He was called ‘the soul of the world,’ and supposed to have been its creator. He was depicted as a handsome man, endowed with perpetual youth. A year before the intended sacrifice, a captive, distinguished for his personal beauty, and without a blemish on his body, was selected to represent this deity. Certain tutors took charge of him, and instructed him how to perform his new part with becoming grace and dignity. He was arrayed in a splendid dress, regaled with incense and with a profusion of sweet-scented flowers, of which the ancient Mexicans were as fond as their descendants at the present day. When he went abroad, he was attended by a train of the royal pages, and, as he halted in the streets to play some favorite melody, the crowd prostrated themselves before him, and did him homage as the representative of their good deity. In this way he led an easy, luxurious life, till within a month of his sacrifice. Four beautiful girls, bearing the names of the principal goddesses, were then selected to share the honors of his bed; and with them he continued to live in idle dalliance, feasted at the banquets of the principal nobles, who paid him all the honors of a divinity.

“At length the fatal day of sacrifice arrived. The term of his short-lived glories was at an end. He was stripped of his gaudy apparel, and bade adieu to the fair partners of his revelries. One of the royal barges transported him across the lake to a temple which rose on its margin, about a league from the city. Hither the inhabitants of the capital flocked, to witness the consummation of the ceremony. As the sad procession wound up the sides of the pyramid, the unhappy victim threw away his gay chaplets of flowers, and broke in pieces the musical instruments with which he had solaced the hours of captivity. On the summit he was received by six priests, whose long and matted locks flowed disorderly over their sable robes, covered with hieroglyphic scrolls of mystic import. They led him to the sacrificial stone, a huge block of jasper, with its upper surface somewhat convex. On this the prisoner was stretched. Five priests secured his head and his limbs; while the sixth, clad in a scarlet mantle, emblematic of his bloody office, dexterously opened the breast of the wretched victim with a sharp razor of *itztli*,—a volcanic substance, hard as flint,—and, inserting his hand in the wound, tore out the palpitating heart. The minister of death, first holding this up toward the sun, an object of worship throughout Anahuac, cast it at the feet of the deity to whom the temple was devoted, while the multitudes below prostrated themselves in humble adoration. The tragic story of this prisoner was expounded by the priests as the type of human destiny, which, brilliant in its commencement, too often closes in sorrow and disaster.”

“The most loathsome part of the story—the manner in which the body of the sacrificed captive was disposed of—remains yet to be told. It was delivered to the warrior who had taken him in battle, and by him, after being dressed, was served up in an entertainment to his

friends. This was not the coarse repast of famished cannibals, but a banquet teeming with delicious beverages and delicate viands, prepared with art, and attended by both sexes, who, as we shall see hereafter, conducted themselves with all the decorum of civilized life. Surely, never were refinement and the extreme of barbarism brought so closely in contact with each other!"—Vol. i, pp. 75, 76, 78, 79.

The number of these sacrifices is represented to be great, almost beyond belief; and yet we see, from the following passage, that Mr. Prescott considers that the fact is supported by the most unquestionable authority:—

"On great occasions, as the coronation of a king, or the consecration of a temple, the number becomes still more appalling. At the dedication of the great temple of Huitzilopotchli, in 1486, the prisoners, who for some years had been reserved for the purpose, were drawn from all quarters to the capital. They were ranged in files, forming a procession nearly two miles long. The ceremony consumed several days, and seventy thousand captives are said to have perished at the shrine of this terrible deity! But who can believe that so numerous a body would have suffered themselves to be led unresistingly like sheep to the slaughter? Or how could their remains, too great for consumption in the ordinary way, be disposed of, without breeding a pestilence in the capital? Yet the event was of recent date, and is unequivocally attested by the best-informed historians. One fact may be considered certain. It was customary to preserve the skulls of the sacrificed, in buildings appropriated to the purpose. The companions of Cortes counted one hundred and thirty-six thousand in one of these edifices! Without attempting a precise calculation, therefore, it is safe to conclude that thousands were yearly offered up, in the different cities of Anahuac, on the bloody altars of the Mexican divinities."—*Ibid.*, pp. 80, 81.

In commenting on the atrocity of these murderous rites, Mr. Prescott very fairly reminds us of the Inquisition, which continued for centuries, in the name even of our own mild and merciful religion, first to torture, and then butcher thousands after thousands; but Christianity commands no such immolations, and is not answerable any more than liberty for the numerous crimes that have been committed in its sacred name.

We now turn to a more pleasing part of the picture, and take a view of the intellectual culture of the Aztecs, as exhibited by Mr. Prescott. A convenient written language is so essential to literary advancement, that we could hardly expect to find a nation distinguished in this way, with a system so inadequate and imperfect as that of the Mexican hieroglyphics. We are referring particularly to literature in distinction from science: in the latter it is less essential, as was seen both in Egypt and here. The Egyptians, however, had a system of hieroglyphics vastly more comprehensive than the Mexicans, the latter

being chiefly the figurative or simple picture-writing, to which, in the former, there was added the symbolic and the phonetic. But it is not possible, at the present day, to determine precisely how far the art was carried among the Mexicans: a very small number of their manuscripts remain to show the progress they had made, the Spanish priests, in their fanaticism, having burnt the greater part of them, some of which, it is not improbable, recorded their origin and their migrations. They had, however, in addition to their hieroglyphical, a sort of oral literature, consisting of traditions, legends, and tales, imbodyed in songs and hymns, which were taught and sung in schools. In science they reached a higher degree of culture: they had a regular system of arithmetical notation, which, inferior as it was to the Arabic, afforded great facility in computation. Their year was the solar one of three hundred and sixty-five days, divided into eighteen months of twenty days each, with an intercalation of five to make out the complete number, and another intercalation, every fifty-two years, to correct the error which had arisen by neglecting the odd hours. So accurate were they in their measurement of time, that at the time of the conquest their calendar was found to agree with the Gregorian, when duly corrected. In their chronological reckonings they were equally precise. The epoch from which they dated corresponded to the year 1091 of the Christian era, being the year of the last reform of their calendar. By a very ingenious contrivance, which is minutely described and figured in Mr. Prescott's work, and one which they had in common with most Asiatic nations, they were able to specify the particular year in a simple and concise manner. Besides the solar calendar, the priests had a mystic one for their own particular use and advantage, but otherwise wholly unnecessary, and easily to be accounted for, as the author justly observes, by "that love of power, that has led the priesthood of many a faith to affect a mystery, the key to which was in their own keeping." By this calendar the priests regulated the religious festivals, and made their calculations in astrology; for the Aztecs, like most nations in a state of imperfect civilization, placed great reliance upon the revealings of the stars. That they also studied their movements for more valuable purposes, may be inferred from the facts in the following passage:—

"We know little further of the astronomical attainments of the Aztecs. That they were acquainted with the cause of eclipses is evident from the representation, on their maps, of the disk of the moon projected on that of the sun. Whether they had arranged a system of constellations is uncertain; though, that they recognized some of the

most obvious, as the Pleiades, for example, is evident from the fact that they regulated their festivals by them. We know of no astronomical instruments used by them, except the dial. An immense circular block of carved stone, disinterred in 1790, in the great square of Mexico, has supplied an acute and learned scholar with the means of establishing some interesting facts in regard to Mexican science. This colossal fragment, on which the calendar is engraved, shows that they had the means of settling the hours of the day with precision, the periods of the solstices and of the equinoxes, and that of the transit of the sun across the zenith of Mexico."—Vol. i, pp. 122, 123.

It now remains to glance at the state of Aztec civilization as respects the useful arts and social life. All genuine civilization begins with the selection of a place for permanent residence. The mere savage subsists by hunting or fishing, or upon the spontaneous productions of the earth; the nomad by his flocks and herds; but civilization is planted with the first seed that is put into the ground fixed upon for a home. We advert to this principle here, because we think it goes far toward explaining the highly-improved condition in which the Aztecs were found at the time of the conquest. No bird of passage, in its flight from the inclement north to the balmy south, ever lighted in a richer or more beautiful valley than they found when they stopped their wanderings. The teeming earth opened its bosom to their embraces, and the genial heavens promised the most bounteous returns for labor. These invitations were not offered in vain. Agriculture now flourished and became an honored occupation; it was skillfully prosecuted, and abundant harvests were gathered in as its rewards. The men took upon themselves its severer toils, and the women joined them in its lighter ones. They practiced fallowing, irrigating, and the other arts of careful husbandry. They cultivated the banana, the cocoa, the vanilla, and some other plants of less note; but Indian corn was their staple, which they used not only for bread, but also extracted sugar from its luxuriant shoots in large quantities, the cane being then unknown there. The *Agave Americana*, and other species of that genus, shot up without culture in great luxuriance, furnishing them with "meat, drink, and clothing;" and yet neither the bountiful provision of nature in this, nor the incredible productiveness of the banana, induced habits of sloth and indolence among them; they were industrious without necessity, and hence we infer they had the spirit and spring of improvement within themselves. They must also have had a taste for the beautiful: they did not leave the fragrant and brilliant flowers which grew in wild luxuriance on their mountains and in their valleys to waste their sweetness on the desert air; they transplanted them to their gardens

and conservatories, and cultivated them with care. These conservatories, Mr. Prescott thinks, may have furnished the original suggestion for the botanic gardens of Europe, as they were established not long after the conquest: we deem it more probable, however, that they are to be traced to earlier usages. The Romans paid much attention to the cultivation of flowers; and ornamental gardens were an appendage to their villas, one of which is particularly described in the letters of the younger Pliny; and they had also a very beautiful mode of decorating the interior courts of their houses with pots of flowers, in stands encircling the small fountains which kept playing in their courts, the vestiges of which are still to be seen among the ruins of Pompeii. The revival and extension of similar usages in modern Italy may account for botanic gardens being first established there. We cannot wholly agree with Mr. Prescott in the praises he bestows upon the Mexican Flora; that it is gaudy and varied, we readily acknowledge, but not that the greatest attractions of our green-houses are gathered from it, nor that it is the richest and most diversified of any on the globe. Ours is the continent for flowering trees and shrubs; but it is comparatively poor in herbaceous plants. We have few native roses, fewer geraniums, no heaths, and no camellias. Still we can readily disprove the common reproach that we have no flowers of fragrance and no birds of song; for not even Araby the blest can match the Peruvian heliotrope with a flower of sweet scent, nor the Peruvian bulbul vie with the mocking-bird of our warmer climes in melody of song.

But to return to the cultivation of the Aztecs. Their mining operations were conducted with no less skill than their agricultural: they brought out silver, lead, tin, and copper from their veins in the rock, separated them from their ores, and applied them to various uses: they collected gold from the sands and beds of the river, and cast it into ingots, or kept it in grains for the payment of the royal tribute. They had no coinage, and they knew not the use of iron; but they were cunning artificers, working in gold, silver, and precious stones, with implements of hardened copper, or the sharp edges of obsidian. Their domestic utensils were of earthen ware, of convenient forms, and not badly made. They had a passion for sculptured images, and crowded them upon their temples and other edifices for ornament: nothing, however, has been found indicative of much taste or skill in the plastic art. Cotton fabrics of various degrees of fineness were manufactured by them. These were dyed with the rich crimson of the cochineal, and sometimes interwoven with the hair of animals, so as to form

a warm and beautiful texture, upon which they put curious embroideries of birds, flowers, and the like. But their greatest skill and ingenuity were displayed upon their work in feathers; and as the country abounded in birds of brilliant and varied plumage, the fabrics of this kind were generally of exquisite beauty. Instead of shops, they used the market-places for the purposes of traffic, where frequent fairs were held, and merchandise of every kind sold or exchanged. As a substitute for coin, they used quills of gold dust, small bits of tin, and bags of cocoa. Industry in some pursuit was enjoined upon all; and trade was particularly honored. The Aztec merchants formed a powerful body in the community, and were especially favored and protected by the sovereign. The drones of modern society might take a good lesson from the exhortation of an aged Aztec chief to his son:—"Apply yourself," said he to him, "to some honorable calling: never was it heard that nobility alone was able to maintain its possessor."

Their domestic manners present a still more striking proof of their great advances in civilization: and many of the features of their social life afford strong presumption that they originated with themselves. Contrary to the usage of the nations of the East, woman was treated with every mark of respect and indulgence, and with greater kindness than she ever received until Christianity exalted her to her rightful place in social life. Marriage was sacred, as far as it can be said to be so where polygamy prevails. Children were educated with great care, under the direction of the priests, as before mentioned, and subjected to a system of severe discipline. Grown-up daughters were treated very kindly by their parents, and more carefully instructed in their duties than they are under modern or even Christian civilization, if the lessons of prudence and virtue, given in the Appendix, are a fair specimen of those taught by Aztec mothers generally.

In their social entertainments they seem to have approached very near to the usages of modern European life. They had dinner and dancing parties, and festivities of every kind; and in all of them the women participated. On such occasions their houses were scented with perfumes, and decorated with flowers, and a great abundance of the latter distributed, in bouquets no doubt, to the guests. They had also the refinements of napkins and finger basins, and were particular in observing all the requisitions of cleanliness. Their table furniture was of gold and silver, and the like costly materials. They indulged in the use of tobacco, but chiefly for smoking. They did not chew, nor put the nauseous weed into their mouths at all. Their cigars were smoked through

moutnpieces of gold, or silver, or tortoise-shell. Sometimes they used pipes filled with aromatic perfumes, according to the fashion of the East; and they also pulverized tobacco, and took it in the form of snuff. The women were seated apart by themselves at table; but whether they joined in the smoking or not, it is not said. This usage, at any rate, proves their imperfect civilization. They had choice viands, nice cookery, high-flavored, spiced, and exhilarating drinks. Game was abundant, particularly the wild turkey, in speaking of which Mr. Prescott takes occasion to settle the question of its origin in favor of this continent, which has been denied, because both its English name of Turkey, and its French one of d' Inde, implied the contrary. Their tables were set out with *entremets*, *hors d'oeuvres*, *patisseries*, *confitures*, and all the stimulants to appetite now provided by European luxury: but amid them all there often peered out, especially if the feast was a religious one, the revolting spectacle of a dish of human flesh, taken from some wretched captive or slave, dressed *à la Tartare*, and sumptuously served, betraying the savage, the pagan, and the cannibal.

When the feasting was over, the young people rose up to dance, leaving the elders at table to gossip over their *pulque*, their substitute for wine, of which they not unfrequently drank to inebriation, showing the inefficacy of the severest laws in restraining the taste for intoxicating drinks, when once indulged. Festive entertainments did not break up until past midnight: on leaving, rich presents of dresses and ornaments were made to the guests, which gave occasion to the same kind of ill-natured, ungrateful comments upon the want of taste or extravagance of their hosts, as are now wont to be made among fashionable ladies when they meet after a party.

We have been thus minute in our abstract of Mr. Prescott's most interesting and carefully-drawn sketch of Aztec civilization, as we could not otherwise do justice to the subject. We had either to pass over it entirely, or to dwell upon it in sufficient detail to give our readers a correct idea of its distinctive features. They will find it so extraordinary, and so marked by contrasts, that they may doubt, perhaps, if the representations of our author are herein correct. But he is supported by the best authority in every word of his statement; and the general facts may be regarded as unquestionable. At the same time, it is natural to suppose that the surprise excited by the novelty of these scenes, and the bigotry acting upon the mind of the fanatical crusaders who gave the first accounts of them, may have imparted a deeper color to their picture. Mr.

Prescott himself is fully aware of the seeming inconsistency in the different features of this unique civilization, and makes the following comments upon it:—

“In this remarkable picture of manners, which I have copied faithfully from the records of earliest date after the conquest, we find no resemblance to the other races of North American Indians. Some resemblance we may trace to the general style of Asiatic pomp and luxury. But in Asia, woman, far from being admitted to unreserved intercourse with the other sex, is too often jealously immured within the walls of the harem. European civilization, which accords to this loveliest portion of creation her proper rank in the social scale, is still more removed from some of the brutish usages of the Aztecs. That such usages should have existed with the degree of refinement they showed in other things is almost inconceivable. It can only be explained as the result of religious superstition—superstition which clouds the moral perception, and perverts even the natural senses, till man, civilized man, is reconciled to the very things which are most revolting to humanity. Habits and opinions founded on religion must not be taken as conclusive evidence of the actual refinement of a people.

“The Aztec character was perfectly original and unique. It was made up of incongruities apparently irreconcilable. It blended into one the marked peculiarities of different nations, not only of the same phase of civilization, but as far removed from each other as the extremes of barbarism and refinement. It may find a fitting parallel in their own wonderful climate, capable of producing, on a few square leagues of surface, the boundless variety of vegetable forms which belong to the frozen regions of the North, the temperate zone of Europe, and the burning skies of Arabia and Hindostan!”—Vol. i, pp. 157, 158.

The concluding chapter of the Introduction, devoted to the Tezucucans, a kindred race of the Aztecs, which had reached a still higher degree of civilization, is one of the most interesting in the book; and we very much regret that our limits will not allow us to give our readers a more particular knowledge of its contents: for that we must refer them to the work itself. After a few remarks upon his essay on the origin of the civilization we have been considering, which Mr. Prescott has detached from the Introduction and thrown into the Appendix, we shall direct our attention to the body of the work, and take a view of these strange people in their struggle to preserve themselves from foreign subjugation.

In attempting to decide on the origin of a people from a comparison of their usages and customs, characteristic of civilized life, with those of nations supposed to be older, we are met in the outset with the difficulty of determining which are the result of an indigenous and which of a derived civilization. Starting with the supposition of a single primitive pair, and we believe that there is

no known fact contradictory to this supposition, we say, that neither to this primitive pair, nor to their progeny, has God ever directly communicated knowledge of any kind that it was in their power to acquire by the use of the faculties with which they are endued, and certainly of this description is the knowledge which provides for the wants, the comforts, the conveniences, and the luxuries of life. There is therefore no degree of civilization reached by any of the families of man, which might not be reached by all the remaining families, excepting those of an evident natural inferiority of intellectual powers. Any portion of the human race that force, or accident, or enterprise may have separated from their brethren, had power in themselves to originate institutions and usages, and make inventions and improvements demanded by their insulated condition. To a certain extent this has always been done; and the variety in the phases of civilization is mainly to be attributed to variety of climate and local situation. There are, however, marks of identity of origin which can never be mistaken; but they are not to be sought in buildings, or dress, or manner of preparing food, or in any of the common arts of life, unless it be in their minutest circumstances. Language is the infallible criterion, and it is the only one. But the Aztec isolation is far greater in this respect than in any other: nothing whatever has been discovered in their language connecting them with any nation of the Eastern continent. Their imagined affinity to the Egyptians, from their use of picture-writing, somewhat resembling hieroglyphics, amounts to very little. Picture-writing of some kind is a universal savage mode of rendering thought visible; and until the Mexican is shown to be phonetic, coinciding in symbols and sounds to the Egyptian, no inference can be drawn from it. Nor do we come upon anything much more conclusive when we go on and examine the various other grounds of resemblance which have been found or fancied to the Egyptians or other nations of the East, such as traditions, rites, symbols, chronological system, analogies from science, physical structure, architectural remains, and social usages: in all these respects many remarkable coincidences are observed; but as yet none sufficiently minute to identify the Mexicans with any particular branch of the human family. Still we do not believe that it is to remain for ever a hidden mystery: the same spirit of inquiry and enterprise in man, which led to the discovery of this western world, will doubtless lead to the discovery of its primitive inhabitants, and the true history of the races that followed. Very much is now doing to aid these inquiries, and give rise to the expectation, that the time is not far distant when they will all be settled. We know that they

are not autochthones, for we have the Mosaic history to the contrary ; and we know also that the question of their origin is not of its own nature an insolvable problem. In the present uncertainty and want of data for a more positive opinion, we fully agree with Mr. Prescott in his conjectures as to that portion of them of which we have been writing,—that their civilization was in some degree influenced by that of Eastern Asia, but so remotely as to justify its being called, at the time of the conquest, a peculiar and indigenous civilization. The beauty of the country, the fertility of the soil, the amenity of the climate, and the evident adaptation of the race to self-cultivation, all favor this supposition.

We conclude this part of the subject with the remark, that it is worthy of note, that of all the great primitive Indian races, none are found in the nomadic or pastoral state : they are either entirely savage, roaming wild in the forest, and subsisting by the chase, as the North American tribes, or so far advanced in civilization as to have houses and villages, and subsist by agriculture, like the Mexicans. These, we have seen, were so far from being pastoral, that they had no domestic animals whatever, not even cows.

The conquest of Mexico is justly accounted one of the greatest of human exploits ; but as it was the first considerable conflict between European and Indian tactics, it was effected under circumstances too peculiar to admit of comparison with any other renowned deed of military heroism. In fact, it can have no parallel, either in ancient or modern history ; for never, before or since, has there been a similar struggle between science and civilization on the one side, and countless numbers on the other. And never, in any enterprise, was the whole success so entirely attributable to its leader as in this ; for it was not mere military talent that made Cortes at all times triumphant, but a universal energy of mind and character, prepared for every exigency, and resolute in every danger. If we add to these qualities his unwavering reliance on himself, his unequalled command of the affections and confidence of his followers, and his firm conviction that he was God's chosen instrument for effecting this work of conversion, we see what made him the daring adventurer and successful conqueror. On the other hand, we have an explanation of the ineffectual resistance made by a very populous, and powerful, and civilized nation, to a mere handful of invaders, in the superstitious dread and general panic which the appearance of the "white gods" occasioned. The belief that Cortes was the conqueror predicted in the book of their destiny, was of itself sufficient to make him so. A glance at the leading events of this marvelous conquest will suffice to show the pow-

erful influence which the moral causes here spoken of had in the result.

The Spaniards obtained their first knowledge of Mexico in 1518. Grijalva, who was then prosecuting a voyage of discovery upon that coast, chanced to land not far south of the place since called Vera Cruz, when he had an interview with an Aztec chief; but being both ignorant of each other's language, and having no interpreter, nothing more was learned than could be communicated by signs. At parting they exchanged presents; and then the rich and curiously-wrought vessels of gold given to Grijalva told him the story he most wished to hear. Alvarado, one of his captains, was forthwith dispatched to Velasquez, the governor of Cuba, with the gifts and the information received from the cacique, which were regarded by him as sufficient indications of the riches of the country to make it an object of more particular discovery. Accordingly he resolved at once upon fitting out a new expedition, and Cortes was selected to command it. He was then in the vigor of life, being about thirty-three years of age, and had been a resident in Hispaniola and Cuba nearly fifteen years, his love of adventure having early taken him from home. Velasquez had had an opportunity of observing the fitness of Cortes for such a command, as he had been with him in the conquest of Cuba, and had then displayed great intrepidity and energy of character. From the moment of his appointment, the enterprise became the all-absorbing subject of his thoughts, and he gave himself to it with a singleness of purpose that showed how fully he believed it was a work which God had given him to do. But Velasquez, either from a revival of a former enmity to Cortes, or from jealousy of the glory he might acquire, soon determined to recall the command, and would have stopped the expedition had not Cortes been too quick for him, and stolen out of port by night, with his fleet but half prepared, giving him an earnest of the independent spirit with which he would manage the whole enterprise. The instructions which had been previously given to him limited his authority to the exercise of a peaceful mission: he was not to attempt to conquer or colonize, but only to traffic with the natives, endeavor to convert them to Christianity, and invite them to acknowledge allegiance to the king of Spain, and at the same time to collect all possible information about the country and people. Cortes, however, was not the man to heed the letter of authority, when opportunity offered for doing more, as he had already shown more than once; and his first address to his companions, as soon as he was beyond the reach of Velasquez, very clearly reveals what higher purposes, than the

authorized ones, he was revolving in his own mind. And yet it is almost incredible that he could have then thought of attempting what he afterward accomplished, so paltry was the force with which he started. Altogether it numbered less than nine hundred souls, composed of one hundred and ten sailors, five hundred and forty-three soldiers, and something more than two hundred Indians, women included. He had ten heavy guns, and four light ones, and sixteen horses. His fleet consisted of eleven sail, the largest of which was but a hundred tons; next three from seventy to eighty, and the residue very small. With this force he set sail from Cuba on the 18th of February, 1519, and with it he made his way to the Mexican capital in eight months from the time he first landed on the coast.

This first landing was made early in March, at Tabasco; and the very first exercise of his power should have taught the natives how little they had to expect from his tender mercies. A slight show of resistance on the part of the Tabascans was taken advantage of as a pretext for a general onslaught; and within twenty-four hours a regular battle was fought, in which the Indians were entirely defeated, and some thousands of them slain. They fought desperately, and might probably have conquered, had they not been dismayed at the sight of the cavalry, to them no less terrific than novel. This carnage was followed by the farce of a general conversion to Christianity. The Tabascans sought to propitiate their conquerors every way, particularly by gifts. Among these offerings was a female slave, named Marina, who proved of great value to them as an interpreter and guide, and a faithful adherent to their cause.

At another point on the coast, not far from Tabasco, Cortes hearing of the name and fame of Montezuma, required messengers to be sent to his capital, soliciting a formal interview with him. In about eight days the messengers returned with splendid presents in exchange for those sent by Cortes to the emperor; but permission for the interview was refused, and the strangers ordered to leave the country immediately. A second embassy proving alike ineffectual, Cortes resolved to waive all further ceremony, and march to the capital, distant about two hundred miles from the station he then occupied: but he had first to acquaint himself how this could be best and most safely done. Having learned from the Totonacs of Cempoalla, a considerable town near the coast which he had visited, that the yoke of the Aztec emperor was galling to many of the smaller tribes that were subject to him, he determined, if possible, to turn their discontent to his own advantage, by making

them his allies. But he had first to conciliate some unquiet spirits among his own men, who were plotting against the enterprise ; and this he did by founding a colony and a city, called Villa Rica, or Vera Cruz, to be held in the name of the Spanish sovereign, under the joint administration of one of his own and one of Velasquez's partisans. This conciliatory measure, aided by his own popularity, soon restored harmony to his camp. This colony, it is worthy of note, was the first one planted by the Spaniards in New Spain, and as a port it was important to Cortes in his after operations.

The religious ceremonies of the Indians, particularly their sacrifices of human beings, were too revolting to the feelings of Cortes and his followers to be endured ; and finding no persuasions could induce them to abandon these horrid rites, he ventured upon the bold measure of entering by force into one of their *teocalli*, seizing and destroying their idols, as he had done before at Columel, and then raised a Christian altar on the spot where they had stood. It was this prompt decision which defeated every plan of opposition before it could be matured, and it was shown alike in his proceedings with Spaniards as with Indians, and never with more effect than when he ordered his whole fleet to be sunk, to prevent the meditated desertion of a part of his troops : it showed them that there could be no return until their work was accomplished. A few words of his own on this occasion will give the best idea of that undaunted spirit which carried him safely through every peril. "If there be any so craven," said he to his soldiers, "as to shrink from sharing the dangers of our glorious enterprise, let them go home, in God's name. There is still one vessel left, let them take that, and return to Cuba. They can tell there how they have deserted their commander and their comrades, and patiently wait till we return, loaded with the spoils of the Aztecs." "To Mexico, to Mexico," was the response with which the appeal was answered, and the march thither was immediately undertaken.

We look upon this step as the sublimest display of courage exhibited by Cortes in the whole enterprise. On other occasions, when perils were impending and appalling, no choice was left but to do or die. On this it was a cool decision to meet them, be they what they might, and none the less for being untried. The extent of the danger was not known, but enough was known to have turned back the stoutest hearts. With a feeble force, and that not wholly loyal, a hostile march of two hundred miles over lofty mountains was to be made into a pagan country of which he was entirely ignorant, uncertain of subsistence, and against an enemy of whose numbers and military strength he could form no estimate.

But his resolution was taken, and he lost no time in carrying it into execution. Leaving a part of his men in garrison at Villa Rica de Vera Cruz to keep up the semblance of authority, he set out with the rest on his march to the capital, August 16, 1519. The force taken with him consisted of four hundred foot, fifteen horse, and seven pieces of artillery, to which were added thirteen hundred Indian warriors, and one thousand porters for transporting the guns and baggage. Without interruption, or remarkable adventure of any kind, this daring band proceeded on their toilsome march as far as the confines of Tlascala, which they reached on the 1st of September. They had now made two-thirds of the whole distance from the coast to the capital, having stopped four or five days at a place of rest on the way, where they learned many things of Montezuma, and of the grandeur of his empire. Before entering the Tlascalan dominions, which he found protected by a lofty wall closing up the gorge of the mountain in which they lived, he sent a deputation of his Indian allies to ask permission to pass through their country; and while they were doubting as to their answer, accident brought the parties into conflict, which was kept up in various desperate engagements, until the Tlascalans were completely defeated, with the loss of many thousands slain. But these defeats did not quiet them: according to Indian usage, they had recourse to stratagem to effect what they could not do openly, which was discovered, and a signal but barbarous punishment inflicted on the spies who were engaged in it. The sight of these wretched mutilated objects struck them with terror, and they offered no further resistance. This is one of the many brutal acts which have brought upon Cortes the just indignation of every friend of humanity; and if any extenuation can be offered for it, it must be in the necessity of the case. He had seen enough of the Tlascalans to know that the result of the contest with them would be decisive of his own fate. He had seen with what determined courage they had fought in open battle; how well nigh they had come to surprising him by nightly attack, and still that their double defeat had not produced submission. In the fear of some greater, because hidden danger, he adopted their own mode of warfare, and visited them with an act of savage vengeance, as the only means of averting it. The result proved that he knew with whom he had to deal. A hostile arm was never again raised against him by the Tlascalans. On the contrary, they alone, of all the Indian tribes, remained firm and unwavering in their adherence to him, and by their aid he effected his conquest.

They were a hardy race of mountaineers, the inveterate enemy

of the Aztecs, and sufficiently numerous to bring a hundred thousand warriors into the field. With such allies, Cortes might well feel that his work was done. And Montezuma must have felt so too: he had confidently anticipated the entire destruction of the invaders by the bold race that he had found invincible, and his heart is said to have sunk within him when that hope failed him, as well it might, for the announcement of the Tlascalan defeat was the first stroke of his own death knell.

On the 23d of September the conquerors were received into the city of Tlascala with every mark of honor, and there entertained for some time with the most friendly hospitality. Cortes did not neglect this opportunity for attempting their conversion to Christianity, to which no opposition was made; but, on the contrary, free permission was given him to establish Christian worship in the public square of the city. Here a large cross was erected, and mass celebrated in the presence of many thousands of Indians. A few converts were made; among them several Indian maidens, who had been promised Spanish husbands on condition of their conversion and baptism, a far milder and more lawful method than the sword of Mohammed for propagating the true faith. The most distinguished of these young converts was a daughter of Xicotenatl, the aged chief, who had first counseled resistance to Cortes, but now his firmest friend. This princess became the wife of Alvarado, and the mother of a line of the loftiest nobles of Spain. While Cortes remained at Tlascala, various embassies were sent to him from Montezuma, with sumptuous presents, and the strongest assurances of respect and friendly disposition; but they all manifested the weakest pusillanimity, and the greatest dread of his approach to the capital. When Montezuma found that his deprecations were in vain, appearing to be no longer reluctant to the visit, he sent Cortes an invitation to come, recommending him to take the route by Cholula as safest and best, and this with the most treacherous views, as was shown in the sequel. Contrary to the earnest remonstrances of the Tlascalans, who knew there must be some concealed snare, Cortes followed the advice, which was enforced by an earnest invitation from the Cholulans themselves. As he was about to depart from Tlascala, immense multitudes volunteered to enlist under his banner and accompany him to Mexico, six thousand of whom he accepted; so that with the recruits before made, he had now an Indian force of nine thousand men, but less than four hundred Spaniards. Cholula, being scarcely twenty miles distant from Tlascala, was soon reached; and as the strongest enmity existed between the two people, he thought it best not to

take the Tlascalcan troop into the city, but leave them near, where they could rejoin him when he pursued his march. The first reception given him by the Cholulans was so friendly as greatly to invalidate the representations of their enemies, and might perhaps have led him to neglect their warning, but for the change which he observed in their manner after the arrival of some messengers from Montezuma. This circumstance put him on his guard, and excited suspicions of hostile intentions, which were confirmed by accounts received from the faithful Marina. She discovered that a plot had been laid for surprising and massacring or capturing the whole Spanish force, and that twenty thousand troops sent by Montezuma were secreted in the neighborhood for that purpose. The consequences of this discovery were terrible to the Cholulans. Their ancient and sacred city, adorned with splendid edifices and abounding in population, was given up to pillage and the sword. The carnage was truly frightful, the slain amounting, by Cortes' own account, to three thousand, and to twice or thrice that number, according to others. It cannot be justified; but, on the other hand, before it is too severely condemned, it should be remembered, that had victory been on the other side, it would have been followed by extermination.

A new embassy soon arrived from Montezuma, disavowing all participation in this plot of the Cholulans, and acknowledging the justice of the vengeance it had brought upon their heads. He thus hoped, perhaps, to propitiate the invader, whom he wanted courage to repel. Vain hope; the clouds were rolling rapidly on, which were soon to burst upon his devoted head. Every hour brought his dread foes nearer to his capital, and every step they advanced presented their prize under new attractions. When they reached the point of the mountain from which they obtained their first view of the enchanting valley of Mexico, they gave vent to their feelings in one general shout of rapturous delight. On descending to the valley, they received another embassy from the emperor, which he had intended should have met and stopped them before they had passed the curtain of mountains which hung around him, by the tempting bribe of four loads of gold to the general, and one to each of his captains, if they would advance no further—but when such riches could be offered, still greater could be taken, and they moved on. When Montezuma heard of the rejection of his offer, he gave himself up to the most pitiful despair, and in answer to every proposal of resistance, constantly exclaimed, "Of what avail is resistance when the gods have declared themselves against us?" Strange! that among his warriors no one was found resolute

enough first to plunge the steel into the heart of their cowardly monarch, and then lead out their countless hosts to meet and exterminate their invaders. But instead of meeting resistance, they moved on amidst every demonstration of homage and awe, wondering, as they advanced, at the magnificence of this barbaric city, riding proudly like a gallant ship upon the waters, and surrounded with floating gardens, and aviaries of singing birds, and other like novel scenes of enchantment. The memorable day of their triumphal entry into the Aztec capital was November 8, 1519, being within three months from the time they left the coast. The presence of Cortes seems to have diminished none of the awe which his approach had created: he was received by Montezuma with a deference that betrayed his own conscious inferiority, and the homage due to an acknowledged sovereign master. Equally surprising as the intimidation produced by his presence upon Montezuma, is the confidence with which Cortes trusted himself in his power, in an insular capital, from which his escape could at any moment be cut off by the mere raising of a draw-bridge; and strangest of all, that he should have been suffered to go and fasten the chains upon a powerful sovereign, and complete the subjugation of a great nation, with scarcely the show of resistance. Both sovereign and subjects must have been stupefied and unnerved by their fatal belief in his supernatural power, and he may have seen his safety in that very belief. We cannot agree with Mr. Prescott in thinking that Cortes must have been more doubtful than ever of the subversion of the Aztec empire, now that he had seen its capital; on the contrary, it seems to us he must certainly have considered the grand question of the possibility of the conquest settled, when he thus found himself safely master in it. Still he could not at once have formed any definite plan for maintaining his authority; this he must have left to be suggested by observation and circumstances. Hence we see him proceeding cautiously, first strengthening his own quarters, then finding a pretext for removing Montezuma from his palace and placing him under his own eye, and soon after of loading him with chains. All these indignities were borne without open resistance, if not without remonstrance by the emperor himself, but far differently by the chiefs of his family, some of whom cried out vengeance upon their invaders, and were constantly forming plots for their destruction. Although Cortes' vigilance suffered none of them to go undetected, they could not but remind him of the insecurity of his position, and the necessity of providing means of escape from the city, in case he could not protect himself and his followers in it. With this view he had two vessels built, of

sufficient size to take his forces across the lake, which were kept in readiness to be used at any moment.

In the meanwhile Cortes went on with his exactions of submission, and obtained from Montezuma, first, full recognition of the supremacy of the Spanish monarch; next, the surrender of his treasures; and at length, after ineffectual resistance, the conversion of one of the *teocalli* into a church for Christian worship. The last measure was the drop too much; it roused the indignation of the priests to such a degree, that the emperor was compelled to listen to their demands, and insist upon Cortes' departure from the country. Feigning a readiness to comply with this requisition, he asked only for sufficient delay to enable him to build ships on the coast to transport his troops, promising to give immediate orders to this effect; and adding, if this request was not granted, he should be compelled to take the emperor with him. Montezuma acceded to his proposal, and to hasten the preparations, sent a large body of Aztecs to the coast to assist in building the ships. But an unexpected event obliged Cortes to leave the capital without delay. A fleet had arrived from Cuba, under the command of Narvaez, who had orders from Velasquez to supersede him, and send him back to that island. This imposed upon Cortes the necessity of meeting him at once, and the perplexing alternative of wholly abandoning his hold on the Mexican capital, or leaving there a portion of his force in the hope of retaining it. He chose the latter, and ventured upon the perilous experiment of trusting a small garrison of one hundred and forty men, under the command of Alvarado, to the mercy of the Aztecs, exasperated as they were by his cruelties and indignities. After exacting a promise from Montezuma, that he would remain in friendly relation with the garrison, and having given the strictest charge of moderation and caution to Alvarado, he set out on his march to the coast with a little band of seventy, being all of his force which remained, a detachment of one hundred and twenty having been previously sent off under Velasquez de Leon, to plant a colony in the south. His conduct upon this occasion is one of the most striking instances in his history of his unequalled courage. In the same bold spirit that he had engaged the Indian hosts at fearful odds, he hastened on to engage a vastly superior force of his own countrymen, well knowing that Narvaez had more than ten times his numbers; but he was fortunately reinforced on his march by de Leon's detachment, which he found at Cholula, and afterward with one sent out from Villa Rica under Sandoval, so that he now numbered nearly three hundred in his ranks. Still his force was not one-third as large as

that of Narvaez, who had brought out from Cuba nine hundred Spaniards and a thousand Indians, well armed and provided with all the munitions of war. But he heeded not the disparity; taking care to come up with his rival under cover of night, he commenced an immediate attack, and completely defeated him, with a very inconsiderable loss on either side. This work was scarcely accomplished, when he received intelligence from the capital, that the garrison he left there had been assaulted, and was threatened with immediate destruction, and that the vessels provided for their escape had been burnt. Without a moment's delay, he called in all the detachments he had sent out to form settlements, and joined the conquered forces of Narvaez to his own, making out a far more powerful army than had ever been under his command, amounting to one thousand foot and a hundred cavalry, and with these he hastened to the relief of his garrison. On his way his faithful Tlascalans added two thousand warriors to his army, and his appearance on his return to the capital was altogether more formidable than on his first visit to it, and doubtless as reanimating to the trembling garrison as it was dismaying to the revolted Aztecs. He had been absent six weeks, and during that time a spirit of determined resistance to the Spaniards had been roused among them, that nothing could allay. Under pretext of putting down an intended revolt, Alvarado had seized a large number of caciques assembled for the celebration of one of their principal festivals, and barbarously put them all to the sword, amounting to six hundred or more. By this atrocious act, a cry for vengeance was raised among the Aztecs, that was never silenced until scarce a voice was left to continue it. All the efforts for pacification, both of Cortes and Montezuma, were ineffectual; the Aztecs fell upon their invaders with a courage, derived from fury and despair, that they had never before shown, and after a succession of the most desperate conflicts, continued daily from June 24th to the 30th, and scarcely interrupted at night, Cortes seeing himself compelled to evacuate the capital, directed all his attention to securing a retreat, now rendered the more necessary by the death of Montezuma, on whose kind dispositions he had placed much reliance. This unfortunate and imbecile monarch probably fell a victim to chagrin: he had been wounded by the arrows of his own men in a moment of indignation at his cowardice; the wound was slight, but the disgrace inflicted one in his heart which could not be cured.

Cortes found it no easy matter to effect a retreat from an island city, over a narrow causeway ten miles in length, cut at short intervals by canals, from which the bridges had been broken down

or removed, and so signal and terrible were the disasters his army experienced the night they attempted it, that it is perpetuated in history by the name of the *noche triste*. It cost him at least one-third of his army, both Spaniards and Indians. Disheartened by this immense loss, and worn out with fatigue, they were very slow in escaping beyond the reach of their enemy: on the seventh day after the calamity, they had gone but thirty miles, which brought them to the plains of Otompan. Here they were met and attacked by such hosts of the various Indian tribes of that region, that escape from destruction would have been impossible, but for the miraculous courage and daring of Cortes. Seeing that his condition was so desperate, that nothing but the death of the barbarian leader could extricate him from it, attended by a few followers, he rushed impetuously into the midst of the enemy's ranks, and struck him down at a blow—until that moment they had not yielded an inch, and then they fled in the most precipitate haste. Exaggerated as the accounts must be which represent the number of Indians in this conflict at two hundred thousand, and that of the slain at twenty thousand, it cannot be doubted that they were very great.

Cortes continued his retreat without interruption as far as Tlascala, and was received by its inhabitants in the same friendly manner as before his disasters, every attempt to induce them to violate their faith having been indignantly rejected. Here his own companions renewed their efforts, both by art and persuasion, to deter him from any further prosecution of his enterprise; but they found him more resolute than ever. After a few days of successful skirmishing against the smaller tribes of Indians in the vicinity of Tlascala, he resumed his preparations for a new attack upon the capital, which he now determined should be made both by water and by land. To carry this into effect, he hit upon the extraordinary project of building a fleet of small vessels to the number of thirteen, at Tlascala, to be transported in pieces sixty miles over the mountains on men's shoulders and put together on the lake. This project he carried into effect; but many months were required for its accomplishment, and it was not until the end of December that he found himself in readiness to proceed. In this interim, Cuitlahua, the successor of Montezuma, had died, after a short reign of four months, and been followed by Guatemozin, a nephew and son-in-law of the latter.

Several fortunate circumstances had occurred to increase the Spanish forces while they were encamped at Tlascala, which Cortes found, on the day he set out on his return to Mexico, Dec. 28th, 1520,

amounted to six hundred men, supported by a very large army of Indian allies. On the 31st he entered Tezcucó, where he made his head quarters, while he was planning operations for the reduction of the capital. A part of these operations consisted in digging a canal from Tezcucó, where he put his vessels together, to the lake, a distance of half a league, and as this was a work of great labor, it was not until the 28th of April that his fleet was launched into the lake. With this fleet, and a force of eight hundred and eighteen foot, eighty-seven horse, three large, and fifteen small guns, and fifty thousand Indian allies, he commenced the siege toward the end of May, which lasted until the 13th of August, on which day Guatemozin was made prisoner, and all further resistance ceased. We have no room for the details of the horrors of these murderous operations: it is sufficient to say, that the siege was conducted with masterly skill on the part of the besiegers, and with the most desperate courage on the part of the Aztecs, the latter being almost annihilated by disease, famine, and carnage, before they gave up. When the last blow was struck, seven-eighths of the city was in ruins, and from one to two hundred thousand lives had been sacrificed. Well might it be said of Cortes, he made a solitude, and called it peace. Prodiges of valor he had certainly accomplished with his little band of Castilians; but it must not be forgotten, that in every step of this memorable conquest he was aided by a powerful body of faithful Tlascalans, who never deserted him in his reverses, and never numbered but one traitor in their ranks. To them is due the credit, if credit it be, of having fixed the Spanish yoke on the necks of the Aztecs.

It has been our object in this paper to present our readers with the great features of the Aztec civilization, and the important facts of the Mexican conquest. In doing this, we have occupied so much space that we are compelled to omit the reflections we had intended to make on these events and the principal personages connected with them; and having already expressed ourselves very fully upon the historical merits of this work, we must close with a single remark upon the beauty and spirit of its descriptive parts. Had the author been a traveler in the country described, and written from personal observation, he could not have given more life and distinctness to his descriptions. This is so striking a characteristic of the book that we could not neglect to notice it. If we had more space, it should be devoted to the publishers of these beautiful volumes, who have done their part of the work in a manner deserving of all commendation.

Theory of Temptation.

[Supposing that this topic had been sufficiently discussed, we fully intended to admit nothing further upon it into the Review. The following communication, however, being merely explanatory, we have concluded to give it a place. We have designed to be strictly impartial in the privileges allowed to our respected correspondents; but, owing to circumstances not necessary to detail, Brother Stevens has occupied considerably the most space. We hope, however, that in giving Brother Caldwell the privilege of the last explanation we shall make ample amends for the disadvantages to which he has been subjected. We think the discussion, so far as the Review is concerned, ought to terminate here, and, under our present convictions, must act accordingly while our umpirage continues. This we hope will be satisfactory to the two brethren, and those of their friends who have taken an interest in the question.]

To the Editor of the Methodist Quarterly Review.

DEAR SIR,—You will perhaps consider the *Theory of Temptation*, which has been made a subject of occasional discussion in several successive numbers of your Review, sufficiently important to authorize a further reference to it in this brief note. Waiving all other allusion to the article which appeared on this subject in your last number, I beg the privilege of calling the attention of your readers to a few specimens of the *incorrect* and *unfair quotations* which occur in it, and on which much of its effect and many of its conclusions depend. These might be multiplied; but I shall make my selection from such misquotations only as have been used for purposes of argument, omitting all such as have been made to contribute only to rhetorical effect.

I know not that I need assign any other reason for this request, than a wish to explain to those who have taken an interest in the controversy why I could not, under any circumstances, attempt to reply to the article in question, and at the same time to satisfy them that a reply may be unnecessary. The quotations which follow will assure every one, that if he would know either what doctrines I have supported, or what arguments I have employed on the points in discussion, he must refer to the original sources.—Whatever is inserted in order to make the following quotations under-

stood, will be found in brackets; and the matter quoted is given without the change of an italic letter, or a point.

From my last article, vol. iii, p. 383.

The reviewer [Mr. S.] might have raised a question as to the *extent* of the excitement allowed by this theory. But he has chosen to deny *ALL excitement of the natural sensibilities* in all innocent temptations.

From Mr. Stevens's last article, vol. iv, p. 50.

The reviewer represents us as denying "*ALL excitement*," notwithstanding we admitted, among others, that of the "*moral sensibilities*," and he argues at length on the admission.

I call attention here to the fact, that Mr. S. is not represented as denying "*ALL excitement*," but only "*ALL excitement of the natural sensibilities*." The fact that he admits the excitement of the "*moral sensibilities*" is referred to by me on p. 388, which see.

From my last article, p. 380.

In perfect harmony, as we suppose, with the principles of the theory, we alledged [in our former article] that "temptation can never become properly such, only so far as it *excites*, or *tends to excite* the *DESIRES*;" but at the same time we affirmed, that in cases where the temptation is successfully repelled, as, for example, by the perfect Christian, the desire does not become fully formed; or, in other words, only the incipient or nascent desire is felt.

From Mr. Stevens's last article, p. 55.

In his [my] present article he says, that in the case of "the perfect Christian, the *desire* does not become fully formed, or, in other words, only the *incipient* or *nascent* desire is felt." We may be obtuse, but this looks to us very much like hair-splitting. We remark that,—1. It contradicts the original theory. The reviewer is careful to limit the above excitement to the "*perfect man*," &c.

So far from "carefully limiting the above excitement to the perfect man," this extract, from which he quotes, limits it only to "cases where the temptation is successfully repelled," of which that of the perfect man is given as one example. Yet this fancied *careful limitation* of the excitement is made to prove a *contradiction*, of which important use is made.

From my first article, vol. ii, p. 148.

This point [that excitement is an essential element of temptation] being thus settled, we have nothing more to do with it, at present, except to remark as a most important inference from the view we have taken, that "*excitement*" as here defined, and as the term seems to

From Mr. Stevens's last article, p. 56.

We charged our friend with contradicting himself in his former article, by saying (after asserting excitement of the *desires*, as we have shown) that "this excitement does not imply a *disposition* to indulgence of any kind, nor a *state*

be used by the reviewer, [Dr. Durbin,] does not imply a "disposition" to indulgence of any kind, nor does it necessarily imply a state of "desire;"—both which terms occur in the strictures, [of Mr. Stevens,] but neither of them in the review.

of desire;" he now denies that it was a contradiction, and says he meant that "only the incipient or nascent desire is felt."

These passages are presented for the purpose of calling attention *first*, to two important omissions—(1) the phrase, "as the term seems to be used by the reviewer," and (2) the word "necessarily," the omission of either of which could not fail to mislead the reader; *secondly*, to two important changes—(1) the insertion of the pronoun "this" before the word "excitement," as a part of the quotation, and (2) to the italicising of the word "state," which make assurance doubly sure that in both cases the reader will be misled; and, *thirdly*, to the last part of the extract, which not being a *misquotation*, I refer to incidentally. I assure the reader that I have never made a denial of this charge of contradiction—a charge only thus supported; and that if I had, I should have assigned a reason for it totally different from that which is here put into my mouth. The reader is specially begged to refer to pp. 56–7, and there to see what use is made of this *imaginary* denial and argument!

From my first article, p. 147.

In the sense in which he [Dr. Butler] explains temptation, it most obviously implies danger; and danger here must imply some connection between the impulse of temptation and the *will*, from which alone can proceed a moral action. But from the general view which we have presented of the mind's action, this temptation, which must first be addressed to the intellect, can reach the will only through the emotions and desires.—From all this it clearly appears, that the temptation cannot reach the will, or produce action of any kind, without passing through the region of the sensibilities; and that it cannot proceed one step beyond the mere intellectual perception, without producing *emotion*, the very nature of which is "*excitement*."

From Mr. Stevens's last article.

We *denied* that the theory's "excitement of the appetites and passions" could be "*without sin*." The reviewer, now under notice, replied that it must be, for there can be no temptation without it, because there can be no temptation without access to the *will*, and no access from the *intellect* or *perception* to the *will* but "through" the intermediate region of the "*emotions and desires*." —P. 36.

We denied the theory's excitement of the appetites and passions; the reviewer reaffirmed it on the ground that there can be no temptation unless the excitement passes through this region of *appetite* and *passion*.—P. 37.

We denied that the desires, &c., could be excited *toward* evil, in a sanctified man, without sin. The

The following are from THE SAME article.

Temptation, then, can never become properly such, only so far as it *excites*, or *tends to excite*, the DESIRES. We have *before* [in the argument from which the foregoing extract is made] shown that "excitement is an essential element of temptation;" and *here* we incidentally find the precise *nature* and *extent* of the "excitement," which is necessary to give it its distinctive character.—P. 154.

The peculiar character of the temptations of the sanctified person, is then doubtless this;—that while they *tend*, in common with the temptations of feeblcr Christians and of all other men, *to the excitement of the desires*, he does not allow them to take hold on these desires. He has attained the power of constantly arresting them *at this point*, and of successfully repelling them.—P. 155.

[The doctrine of these last extracts is restated in my last article, p. 380, and again referred to, p. 384.]

reviewer replied that they can and must be.—He affirmed that there could be no temptation without danger, and no danger without access to the will, and that therefore temptation must have access to the will; and as there could be no access to the will from the intellect except through the intermediate stages, therefore the temptation must pass "*through*" the *emotions* and *desires*. This was his argument.—Pp. 38, 39.

It [the doctrine that the excitement of innocent temptation reaches only to the involuntary stage of desire, called the incipient or nascent desire] contradicts his former defense of the theory. In his former article he told us that the *will must* be reached in temptation, and that it cannot be reached merely through the *emotions*, but "*through the desires*;" now [referring to my last article] he informs us that the temptation only "*tends to excite the desires*," that the desire does "*not become fully formed*," that it is "*nascent*."—P. 56.

I appeal to the reader, if he can find, in the passage of my article referred to by Mr. S., (and there is no other than the one presented to which he can refer,) any authority for putting into my mouth such assertions as these:—"There can be no temptation without access to the will;"—"temptation must pass '*through*' the *emotions* and *desires*;"—"the *will must* be reached in temptation," &c.? On the contrary, are not these sentiments most expressly denied in the last two extracts?

Again: it is not affirmed here or elsewhere, in my articles, that—"temptation—only tends to excite the desires, &c.;" but that—"the temptation of the sanctified person,"—or, in more general terms,—"temptation, when successfully repelled,"—only tends to excite, &c. And in passing I may inquire, if it is not somewhat extraordinary, that for the avowed purpose of proving that my articles "contradict" each other, (see the last of the quotations from Mr. S.,) the sentiments of the last two extracts above should be referred to my *last* article, instead of the *first* one in which they originally

occurred. Indeed, they do not occur in the last but as formal quotations from the first.

From my last article, p. 398.

A large part of these quotations aim at nothing, but to prove that pure love should be the controlling principle in the heart of the perfect man, and that all evil, worldly, and sensual desires are excluded. These are excluded by the theory originally propounded, since it allows nothing but what is "involuntary;" and these are on all hands admitted to be under the control of the will.

From Mr. Stevens's last article, p. 58.

He says,—“A large proportion of these quotations prove nothing but that all evil, worldly and sensual desires, are excluded. These are excluded by the original theory, since it allows nothing but what is ‘involuntary,’ ‘and these are on all hands allowed to be under the control of the will.’”

This passage, thus strangely changed, stands in Mr. Stevens's article as a formal quotation; and the reader is particularly referred to that article, p. 58, for the use made of the omission of the reference to “the perfect man.”

From Mr. Stevens's last article, p. 45.

In his [my] last article he tells us that this case of *Satanic influence* “obviously refers” to a matter “entirely distinct” from the theory's general definition of temptation.

The passage of my article here referred to may be found on p. 381. It is there said that the case—not of *Satanic influence*, but of—“‘violent excitement,’ which has its origin in ‘Satanic suggestion,’ and is accompanied with ‘reflections and imaginings horrible, offensive, and impure,’”—is a matter entirely distinct, &c. *Satanic influence* is but an incident in this kind of temptation, and is not peculiar to it alone.

The following are from Mr. Stevens's first article, vol. ii.

The “solicitation to evil” may be presented to his [the perfect Christian's] *thoughts*, but it is not felt in his *passions*. There may be excitement, intense excitement, but instead of its tending to “unlawful indulgence,” &c., it has precisely the opposite tendency; the excitement of horror against it, or of conscious triumph over it, &c.—P. 435.

We have admitted that temptations to *unlawful indulgence* may be presented to the *intellect*—we have admitted that they may produce excitement, intense excitement, yet not an excitement like that of the reviewer's, tending *toward*, flowing in the *direction* of, the unlawful object, but an excitement of abhorrence *against* it—not an excitement which must be resisted, but *consented* to as altogether holy.—P. 447.

This sentiment is reiterated on pp. 446, 451, and 456; and in his last article, p. 50, referring to these passages, he says,—“We admitted, among others, [other forms of excitement,] that of the ‘moral sensibilities.’”

From my last article, p. 388.

Elsewhere [referring to the foregoing passages] the reviewer [Mr. S.] has admitted, in regard to the sanctified Christian, that this intellection may be accompanied with the *moral* emotion of "horror" and "abhorrence." If this admission be extended to the original transgression, instead of mending the matter, it but makes it worse; for that which before did not amount to a temptation, now actually becomes a powerful impulse in the contrary direction; for he says explicitly of this excitement, "instead of its tending to 'unlawful indulgence,' &c., it has precisely the opposite tendency." This temptation, which takes the direction of the *moral sensibilities*, is such, we feel assured, as no metaphysical writer ever yet suggested to the world.

In the last article of Mr. Stevens, p. 40, a part only of the foregoing extract is quoted, commencing with the second period, "If this admission," &c.; and in such connection as to make the pronoun "this" refer to another antecedent from that which I gave it. This he makes the occasion to pronounce it a "preposterous misrepresentation," which, he adds, "forms the force of his [my] article." The reader cannot perceive the full extent of the injustice done to the argument by this omission and consequent change of antecedent, without referring to the passage cited.

Other matter of a similar character might be adduced; but here I leave the subject, and without comment. I deeply regret that my reverend friend should have felt compelled, on the appearance of my last article, to decide that a personal character had been given to the discussion. I assure you, Mr. Editor, and your readers, that nothing was further from my thoughts, or more foreign to my feelings; and if I supposed that in the judgment of the disinterested and discerning I was justly responsible for such a result, the least satisfaction I could wish to render, as it would be the only satisfaction in my power, should be most cheerfully presented, in a frank acknowledgment of my error. But even yet, I prefer not to consider the discussion "personal." The absence from my articles of many of the expressions of courtesy, and of many explanatory and relieving remarks, may be accounted for on the ground, that in this discussion I have been restricted to forty-five pages—twenty-one less than my friend has been permitted to occupy; and though compelled thus to yield to the demand of circumstances, had I presumed nothing on the indulgence of personal friendship, I might perhaps have been more punctilious in repeating my assurances of respect and esteem. I have, however, never been accustomed to think such assurances essentially requisite between men engaged in the honest search after truth.

Very truly yours,

M. CALDWELL.

ART. VI.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles.* By DR. AUGUSTUS NEANDER, Ordinary Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin, Consistorial Councilor, etc. Translated from the third edition of the original German. By J. E. RYLAND. Complete in one volume. 8vo., double columns, pp. 331. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell & Co. New-York: Saxton & Miles. 1844.

THE author of the above work is of a school of divines who have for several years made most commendable efforts for the restoration of an orthodox theology, and an evangelical spirit in the German Churches. The present work is characterized by sober criticism and profound investigation. The field it covers embraces the first developments of Christianity. The writings and ministry of the apostles, with the establishment, institutions, and usages of the primitive church, are presented and considered in the author's truly masterly manner. The work is one of great importance to the Biblical student, and is peculiarly appropriate to the times, as it stands in stern opposition to several dogmas which, by a portion of the Christian public, are considered essential elements of "catholic truth."

2. *Danger and Duty; or, A Few Words on Popery, Puseyism, and the Present State of the Times, in Connection with Truth, Righteousness, and Peace.* By REV. RICHARD MARKS, Vicar of Great Missenden, Bucks. First American, from the ninth London edition. 18mo., pp. 128. New-York: John S. Taylor & Co. 1844.

THIS is an earnest appeal to the Protestantism of the Church of England, against Puseyism and its really Romish developments and tendencies. It breathes the spirit of true Christian sympathy, and is entirely made up of the overflowings of a godly jealousy for the purity and safety of the Church of England, now suffering the dreadful ravages of a most destructive heresy. In theory the author is of the type of Archbishop Whately. He repudiates the doctrine of "the apostolical succession," and extends his confidence to all ministers of Jesus Christ of every name. His manner indicates, what he does not affect to conceal, that he fears the Church of England is destined to the judgment of being "unprotestantized," *Romanized*, and cursed of God for her sins, and especially for her criminal indifference to the spiritual wants of her numerous perishing children. We confess we sympathize with him in his alarms. And we would not fail to unite with him in his fervent prayers that God would pour out upon that slumbering, guilty Church, the spirit of repentance and supplication, that his fierce wrath may be averted.

3. *The History of the Christian Religion and Church, during the three first Centuries.* By AUGUSTUS NEANDER. Translated from the German, by H. J. ROSE, B. D. In one volume. Containing the Introduction; the History of the Persecutions of Christianity; and the History of Church Discipline, and of Christian Life and Worship; the History of Christian Sects and Doctrines, and an Account of the chief Fathers of the Church. 8vo., double columns, pp. 470. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell & Co. New-York: Saxton & Miles. 1843.

THE object of this work is sufficiently indicated in the title-page. Its character is so well understood that little need be said by us. Dr. Neander addresses himself to his task in true German style. He is no copyist—he searches, and thinks, and speaks for himself; and if he errs in the philosophy of his facts, it is because their *rationale* lies too deep to admit of a comprehensive survey. The present volume is the first part of a History of the Church which is now brought down to the twelfth century, in the German language. The whole, when completed, will greatly increase the facilities for the study of ecclesiastical history, and should be read by every minister.

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4. *History of the Great Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in Germany, Switzerland, etc.* By J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNE. Fourteenth edition. 8vo., double columns, pp. 426. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell & Co. New-York: Saxton & Miles. 1843.
5. *D'Aubigne's History of the Great Reformation.* Abridged by the REV. EDWARD DALTON. Volume I. (Being an abridgment of the first three volumes.) Second American edition. 12mo., pp. 447. New-York: John S. Taylor & Co. 1843.

IT is no small source of gratification that this great evangelical History of the Reformation meets with so rapid a sale in this country, and that our enterprising publishers are sustained in the issue of such a variety of impressions. We noticed the work on a former occasion, and need not now dilate upon its merits. Its extensive circulation will do much toward fixing correct views of the glorious Reformation in the minds of all unprejudiced and thinking men, and so far will tend to arrest the progress of Popery and semi-popery in the land. We wish every edition of it all the success its publishers could desire. The present octavo embraces all of the work that is published; and this, or the abridgment, can be obtained at so very low a price, that none need be without one or the other.

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6. *Sermons.* By the Right Reverend Father in God, JOSEPH BUTLER, D. C. L., late Lord Bishop of Durham. 8vo., pp. 303. New-York: Robert Carter. 1844.

THE volume before us contains twenty-one sermons, delivered upon different occasions, upon highly-interesting topics. They are the pro-

ductions of one of the greatest men of an age remarkably fruitful of genius. "There were giants in those days," and Bishop Butler was by no means among the least of them. Of the merits of these Sermons we need scarcely speak, the name of the author being a sufficient recommendation. The volume also contains the correspondence between Bishop Butler and Dr. Samuel Clarke, in relation to Dr. Clarke's "Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God." Here we see the collision of two master minds, upon a metaphysical question of great subtilty and difficulty. But what frankness! what candor! what Christian forbearance are here! If the spirit of this controversy could be infused into the discussions of our time, they would doubtless promise a great harvest of practical and profitable results.

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7. *A Protestant Memorial: comprising—1. A Concise Historical Sketch of the Reformation. 2. The Antiquity of the Religion of Protestants demonstrated. 3. The Safety of continuing in the Protestant Church. 4. Romanism contradictory to the Bible.* By THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE, B. D., author of "Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures." From the ninth London edition. 18mo., pp. 149. New-York: John S. Taylor & Co. 1844.

THIS manual, from the learned author of the "Introduction," is timely, and will do much good. Its character is sufficiently indicated in the title-page, as given above. Whoever wishes to see the enormous heresies of Rome contrasted with the pure, simple truths of the Bible, within the compass of a few small pages, can scarcely find a more appropriate work than this of Mr. Horne. It is truly refreshing, in these times, to see several of the most gifted theologians of the English Church holding and unequivocally adhering to "the Reformation" and the "religion of Protestants."

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8. *The Voice of the Church: one, under all the Successive Forms of Christianity. A Discourse pronounced at the Opening of the Theological School at Geneva.* By J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNE, D. D., author of the "History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century." Translated by REV. K. SMITH, Waterford, N. Y. 18mo., pp. 63. New-York: John S. Taylor & Co.

THE high reputation which the author of the "History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century" has acquired will secure eager attention to whatever may emanate from his pen. The great object of this Discourse is to show the different forms which Christianity has assumed in different periods. These, in his own peculiar manner, he presents as follows:—1. The form of life. 2. The form of dogma. 3. The scholastic form. And 4. The form of the Reformation. Under these several heads is sketched the leading features of the great periods or ages of the church. The whole shows the hand of a master—a genius

which we hope is destined, for years to come, to shed its brilliant rays upon the churches of Christendom, and will, through all future time, be regarded as one of the greatest ornaments of the age in which we live. Let all possess themselves of this admirable little book.

9. *Natural Theology*. By THOMAS CHALMERS, D. D., Professor of Theology in the University of Edinburgh, &c. In two volumes. 8vo., pp. 404—420. New-York: Robert Carter. 1844.

THE manner of Dr. Chalmers is peculiarly his own: and that manner he carries with him in the investigation of all subjects. The argument of the work before us could not be made wholly original. It had been ably treated by Derham, Paley, and others; but in the hands of Chalmers it assumes all the freshness of originality. The present edition, as respects form and price, is well suited to the purposes of a text-book for students, and to that class of purchasers, especially, the enterprising publisher has rendered an essential service. The merits of the work, we presume, are well understood; and we would notice, that among its recommendations one of the highest and strongest is, that it "has been introduced as a text-book into the University of New-York."

10. *A Critical Commentary and Paraphrase on the Old and New Testament and the Apocrypha*. By PATRICK, LOWTH, ARNOLD, WHITBY, and LOWMAN. A new edition; with the text printed at large. Royal octavo. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. New-York: Wiley & Putnam.

WE are happy that we are to be furnished with this learned Commentary from the American press. It is to be issued in numbers, and the price of the whole will not exceed thirteen dollars. Dr. Clarke says, "*Patrick and Lowth* are always judicious and solid; and Whitby is learned, argumentative, and thoroughly orthodox. The best comment on the New Testament, taken in all points of view, is certainly that of *Whitby*." No modern critic is more worthy of confidence in a matter of this kind than Adam Clarke. He had made the Bible and the critics matters of study for many years, and never gave a favorable opinion merely for effect. His opinions were carefully formed and honestly expressed. But we do not quote Dr. Clarke as authority in a matter of which we have no knowledge. Our personal examinations have fully convinced us of the correctness of his high commendation, so that we are prepared to indorse, and make it our own.

We hope the enterprising publishers of this great work will be sustained in their enterprise by a liberal demand upon the part of the public. The specimen number before us is not inferior to the English copy, and the price of the whole will be much lower than that for which the English edition can be imported. If the Methodist preachers wish to go beyond the publications of our own press in this department, this is precisely the Commentary they want.

11. *Pioneer: a Narrative of the Nativity, Experience, Travels, and Ministerial Labors of Rev. Charles Giles, Author of the "Triumph of Truth," etc. With Incidents, Observations, and Reflections.* New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1844.

THIS work will be exceedingly interesting to many readers. Especially to those who are acquainted with the amiable and pious author, and the scene of his labors, and the persons and places to which he makes allusion, this book will be a rare treat. With our personal partiality for the author, and acquaintance with many of the facts he records, we hardly dare predict that others, not so circumstanced, will feel the lively interest which we felt in perusing his book. We think, however, we should run no hazard in recommending to all who wish to see how things were done up in central New-York, just back a little, to read the *Pioneer*. We hope to be pardoned for just adding that the venerable *Ebenezer White*, so long the colleague of the author, to whom he justly gives so high and excellent a character, was our *spiritual father*, and his own sister, *Anna Blair*, next to our own dear mother, labored the most fervently for our conversion, and enjoyed the highest place in our earliest religious affections.

12. *Sketches and Incidents, or a Budget from the Saddle-bags of a Superannuated Itinerant.* New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1844.

THE title-page of this little work gives a fair idea of its contents and character. The style is sprightly, and the sketches well drawn. The reader who wishes to be entertained at the same time that he is profited, will do well to procure and read this book. We especially commend it to those who wish a little pleasant relaxation from severe duties, and in the mean time desire to improve their moral feelings.

13. *Notes, Illustrative and Explanatory, on the Holy Gospels: Arranged according to Townsend's Chronological New Testament.* By JOSEPH LONGKING, JUNIOR Superintendent of the Greene-street Sunday School, New-York. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1844.

THIS volume closes the series upon the Gospels. The Notes, as the title-pages purport, are designed to accompany the "Questions" by the same author. We take pleasure in saying that our friend, the author of the Questions and Notes, has most wisely appropriated his rare talents for aiding the Sunday school department. His plodding industry and practical knowledge have happily supplied our sabbath schools with apparatus for Bible-class instructions of great excellence and adaptation. The rapid sale of these works, and their general adoption, are evidence that their worth is appreciated.

14. *The Life of James Arminius, D. D., formerly Professor of Divinity, in the University of Leyden. Compiled from his Life and Writings, as published by Mr. James Nichols.* By NATHAN BANGS, D. D. 18mo., pp. 288. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1843.

THE subject of this work has been misunderstood and misrepresented so generally by a certain class of writers, that to a vast multitude *Arminian* is but another name for *heretic*. The present work presents, in a narrow compass, a complete vindication of the honesty, the piety, the learning, and the orthodoxy of Arminius. So far as all these matters are concerned, the work is calculated to do much good, and to annihilate a world of prejudice. Here the injured man speaks for himself, and refutes, if he does not silence, all his calumniators. Though as a biography the work is deficient in incident and consecutive historical delineation, as a vindication of the character and theology of the great leader of the "Remonstrants" it is truly an important production, and the compiler has brought the churches under a debt of gratitude for the good service he has rendered them. The topic is worthy the talents and research of a Clarendon, a Mosheim, or a D'Aubigne; and we hope the time may come, when, from the materials which still lie comparatively unknown, in the Latin

and Dutch languages, such a history of the life of one of the greatest and best men who has lived since the days of the Reformation as the dignity of the subject demands may be given to the world. In the meantime, the compilation by Dr. Bangs should have a wide circulation and careful perusal.

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15. *The Sacred Order and Offices of Episcopacy asserted and maintained; to which is added a Discourse of the Office Ministerial.* By the Right REV. JEREMY TAYLOR, D. D., Lord Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore. 12mo., pp. 361. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1844.
 16. *The Unity of the Church.* By HENRY EDWARD MANNING, M. A., Archdeacon of Chichester. 12mo., pp. 305. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1844.
 17. *Portrait of an English Churchman.* By the REV. W. GRESLEY, M. A., Prebendary of Lichfield, author of a "Treatise on Preaching," "Bernard Leslie," etc. From the seventh London edition. 12mo., pp. 239. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1844.
 18. *The Rectory of Valehead.* By the REV. ROBERT W. EVANS, M. A. From the twelfth English edition. 12mo., pp. 259. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1844.

HERE are four beautifully-executed volumes from the press of the Appletons, all of which teach the peculiar doctrines of that body of Christians styled by its adherents, "the Church." The first two of these works are professedly and formally argumentative, and in them the reader will find all that learning can do in defense of the doctrine of "apostolical succession" and *episcopal* "unity." For those who wish to study "Church principles," and to see their practical developments, as drawn out by their admirers, and to commune with the spirit of our best high-Churchmen, both of a former and the present age, a better selection could scarcely be made among the many works upon the subject now teeming from the press.

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19. *Simcoe's Military Journal.—A History of the Operations of a Partisan Corps, called the Queen's Rangers, commanded by Lieut. Col. J. G. Simcoe, during the War of the American Revolution: illustrated by ten engraved Plans of Actions. Now first published: with a Memoir of the Author, and other Additions.* Svo., pp. 328. New-York: Bartlet & Welford. 1844.

THIS is an important contribution to the history of our revolutionary struggle. In reading the narrative of Lieut. Col. Simcoe, we could not suppress the reflection, that if the military skill, untiring energy, and great moral excellence of the leader of "the Queen's Rangers" had characterized all the higher officers of the British army, the revolutionary struggle would have been much protracted. The narrative is an unostentatious presentation of facts as they appeared to the writer, and drawn out in a perspicuous, neat, classical style. The poor "Lieut. Colonel" was finally sorely mortified in leaving "the rebels" unsubdued: for this, however, we most heartily thank God, and the world we doubt not will have cause to rejoice till it reaches its final destiny.

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20. *Religion in the United States of America.* By REV. ROBERT BAIRD, D. D. First American edition. 8vo., pp. 338. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1844.

THIS work was first published in Europe in the fall of 1843, and was recommended to the British public by Rev. Drs. Welsh, Cunningham, and Buchanan. Its author is well known to the religious community on both sides the Atlantic, having traveled extensively on both continents, and is peculiarly well qualified for delineating the religious history and character of his native land. This work, which has been revised and extended, and is now presented to the American reader, is a minute and faithful portraiture of the origin, progress, and present state of the various religious denominations in this country, and of the influence of religion generally on the early settlement and subsequent advancement and growth of the several colonies and states, from which the nation has arisen, and which now compose it; the whole illus-

trative of the voluntary principle in distinction from a religious establishment by the state. The work has been very favorably reviewed in Europe, and will, we doubt not, be cordially welcomed by the American public as a most valuable contribution to the religious literature of the nineteenth century.

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21. "*Can I join the Church of Rome while my Rule of Faith is the Bible?*" *An Inquiry addressed to the Conscience of the Christian Reader.* By CÆSAR MALAN, D. D., Pastor of the "Church of the Testimony," Geneva. Translated from the second French edition. With an Introductory Notice. By REV. ROBERT BAIRD, D. D. 8vo., pp. 250. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1844.

THIS is a minute, faithful, and able examination of the corrupt doctrines and ceremonies of the Church of Rome, in the peculiar style of the author, and on the basis of the Romish fathers, councils, and doctors, to whom copious and accurate references are made throughout the work. At the present time, when the great contest between Popery and Protestantism seems to be revived for final decision, this work is most seasonable; as it will serve as a manual to those who would make the same examination with its author, and learn the mystery of abominations from the mouth of Rome herself. We commend its perusal to the Protestant community, and to those of our Roman Catholic friends who are willing to come to the light of truth.

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22. *Church History: or History of all the Religious Denominations in the United States.* Philadelphia: James Y. Humphreys. 1844.

WE have been permitted to examine four hundred pages of this volume, which comprises entirely original, doctrinal, and statistical sketches of all the religious denominations which exist at the present day in the United States; being authentic accounts of their rise, doctrine, and progress. The Sketches are expressly written for this Church History, by eminent theological professors, ministers, and lay members of the respective denominations. The Narratives are arranged in alphabetical order; beginning with the "Associate Presbyterian Church," and extending, at the end of four hundred pages, to the "Latter Day Saints," by Joseph Smith. The history of the Methodist Episcopal Church in this work was written by Dr. Bangs. The volume of course exhibits a great diversity of talent, and must unavoidably contain some discordant materials. But in detailing and defending the peculiar views of each religious community, there seems to be not any necessity for direct assault upon other denominations: nevertheless, the article entitled "*Protestant Episcopal Church*" is of that belligerent character. The whole of it, exclusive of the mere statistics, occupies twenty-three pages, ten of which are devoted to a vituperative castigation of the Wesleys, Coke, Asbury, and all the Methodists, for their separation from the English Establishment, and then for our own ecclesiastical organization. Mr. Shimeall, the author of that article, has evinced the disposition to discuss almost any other subject than that proposed for his history. He has taken the pains to collect some trifling inadvertencies in act and expression, which can be culled from the reminiscences of the founders of Methodism, both in America and Britain; and has wasted nearly one half of his allotted space on subjects altogether irrelevant, if not utterly exceptionable, and censurable. He has presented us with what he calls a history of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which is totally defective in every quality requisite for such a work. The distinctive attributes of the Protestant Episcopal Church are thus summarily described. Their system, he says, "involves the principle, that a succession from the apostles in the order of bishops, as an order distinct from and superior to presbyters, is a requisite, without which a valid ministry cannot be preserved." Then follow the ten pages of rambling extracts from John Wesley's writings, and those of Charles Wesley, Coke, Asbury, Whitehead, and others, to prove that we Methodists are without that valid ministry, and are not a church of Christ at all. Four pages are devoted to the trifles connected with the ordination of Dr. Provoost and Dr. White at Lambeth, by virtue of the British Act of Parliament, without which Act there could have been no valid episcopacy in the

United States; thus proving that the American Protestant Episcopal Church originated in the favor of the British government.

All that Mr. Shimeall has said of the internal polity and exterior aspects of the Protestant Episcopal Church is included in these few words:—"The doctrines of the Church are to be found in the Creeds, in the Liturgy, and in the Thirty-nine Articles." Nevertheless, it seems, at the convention in 1792, respecting those doctrines, Creeds, Liturgy, Articles, &c., that the five bishops, Claggett, Madison, Provoost, Seabury, and White, were at utter variance upon the true meaning of those documents; and that there was just as little harmony among those five diocesans then, as there is among the present twenty-two; who exhibit their boasted concord in only one way, the liberty to differ as loudly, and long, and widely as they please.—We notice the "Church History," in which Mr. Shimeall's strange article appears, expressly to acquaint our readers with the forthcoming volume; and also to state that all the other articles which we have seen are devoted to the theme designated. Mr. Shimeall being only a recent proselyte, and unacquainted with his topic, instead of complying with the prescribed claim for a history of the Protestant E. Church, has dispatched the main subject in a very concise form, vented his dislike of the Methodists in a lengthened caricature and philippic, and by way of giving us the annals, and constituent principles, ceremonial, &c., of his own community, has filled thirty pages containing "everything but nothing much." The reader may expect more anon.

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23. *Bibliotheca Sacra: or Tracts and Essays, on Topics connected with Biblical Literature and Theology.* Editor, EDWARD ROBINSON, D. D. 8vo., pp. 573. New-York: Wiley & Putnam. 1843.

THIS learned work is comprised in three parts, and contains a variety of articles upon subjects of great importance. The reputation of the editor for profound Biblical research is fully sustained in this contribution to the stock of Biblical learning. Besides the editor's productions, there are elaborate papers in the volume from Professor Stuart, President Wayland, Professor Turner, and Rev. Eli Smith. The volume is well worthy a place in every theological library in the land.

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24. *A Church without a Bishop.—The Apostolical and Primitive Church, Popular in its Government, and Simple in its Worship.* By LYMAN COLEMAN, Author of "Antiquities of the Christian Church." With an Introductory Essay, by Dr. AUGUSTUS NEANDER, Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. 12mo., pp. 432. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. New-York: M. H. Newman. 1844.

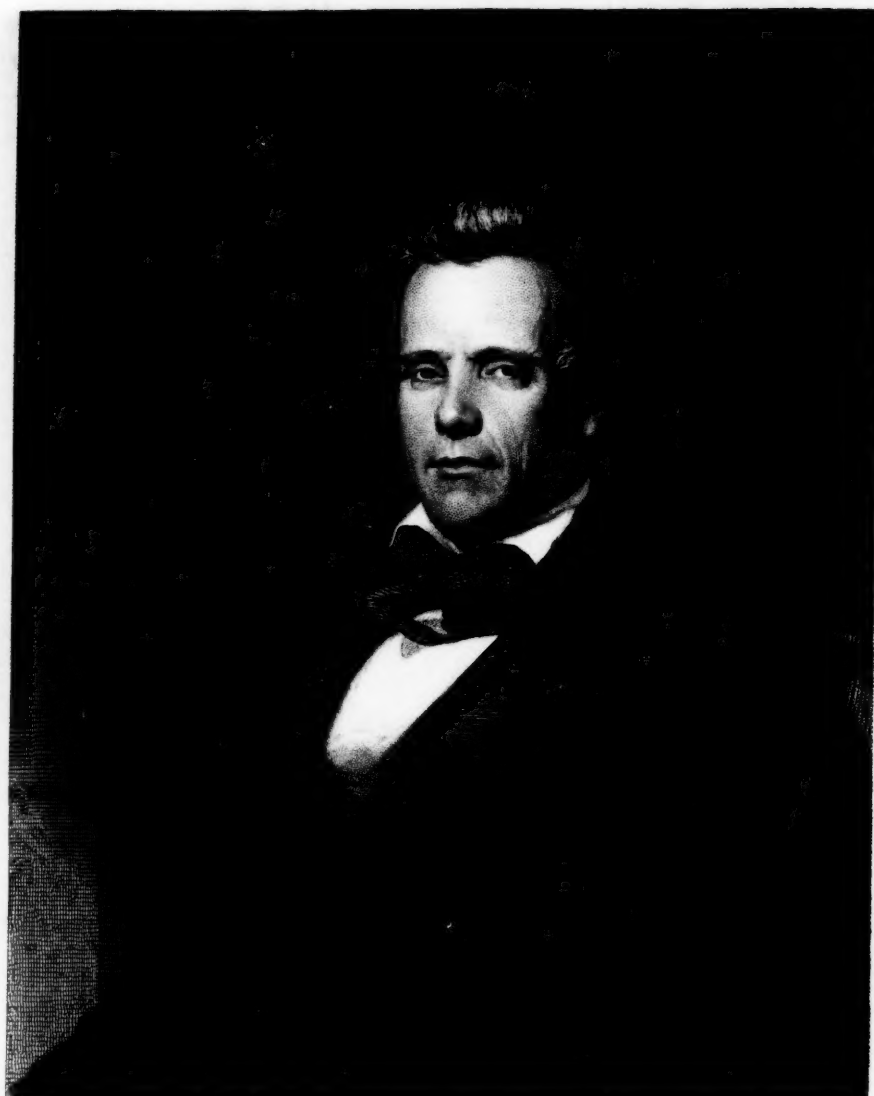
WE have but just received this work, and, of course, can have but little knowledge of its character or merits. The character of the author, for learning and research, is favorably known, and surely, if his work needed any indorsement, nothing more fully satisfactory could be asked to this end than the name of the pious and learned Dr. Neander. We promise ourselves a rich treat in Mr. Coleman's book. It is a work for the times, and will doubtless meet with an extensive sale.

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25. *Memoir of Mrs. Sarah Louisa Taylor.* By REV. LOT JONES, A. M. 18mo., pp. 324. New-York: John S. Taylor. 1844.

A most beautiful illustration of the influence of religion upon the female character, especially in the family circle, Sunday school, &c. Had we space, we would say much in commendation of the excellent Christian spirit of this book.

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26. *History of the Church of Scotland, from the Introduction of Christianity to the Period of the Disruption in 1843.* By REV. W. M. HETHERINGTON, A. M. 8vo., double columns, pp. 500. New-York: Robert Carter. 1844.

THIS is a work of great interest, and, *Deo volente*, will be reviewed at length upon a future occasion.



Portrait of J. F. Johnson

